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Good Sir

If you can procure, and at the same time excuse the trouble, the Monasticon Eboracense, a Catullus, & any Welch Dictionary, they will be very acceptable, divert the tediousness of these hours, and alleviate a few of the many dissatisfactions of this place, for

Good Sir,
your most humble
your most obliged servant

E. Aram.

To

Mr Wallace.

Fac-simile of a Letter written by Eugene Aram when a prisoner in York Castle in 1758.

THE

TRIAL AND LIFE

OF

EUGENE ARAM;

SEVERAL OF HIS

LETTERS AND POEMS;

AND HIS

PLAN AND SPECIMENS

OF AN

ANGLO-CELTIC LEXICON;

WITH

COPIOUS NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND AN ENGRAVED FAC-SIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING OF THIS VERY INGENIOUS BUT ILL-FATED SCHOLAR.

Richmond:

PRINTED BY AND FOR M. BELL:

SOLD ALSO BY LONGMAN, REES, AND CO.; COLBURN AND BENTLEY; BALDWIN AND CRADOCK; WHITTAKER AND TREACHER, LONDON; MOZLEY, DERBY; WILSON AND SONS, YORK; AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1832.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE very interesting and deservedly popular novel recently published, entitled Eugene Aram, gave rise to the present publication.

Many of the admirers of that ingenious performance having expressed a wish to see something in an authentic form, respecting the celebrated Hero of that work, the present Editor was induced to undertake the task of illustrating several passages in the Pamphlet published originally at Knaresbrough in the year 1759, relating to that unfortunate man: how he has succeeded, must be left to the judgement of others.

To the Rev. James Tate, A. M. the learned Master of the Grammar School at Richmond, the Editor returns his very grateful acknowledgements, for the loan of an original manuscript of the *Plan and Specimens of a Celtic Lexicon, in Eugene Aram's own hand-writing.*

To the Rev. Henry R. Hutchinson of Middlesmoor in Netherdale,

To Timothy Hutton Esq. of Clifton Castle near Bedale, and

To George Hartley Esq. of Middleton Lodge near Richmond; the thanks of the Editor are in like manner returned, for the kind and prompt attention which they paid to many of his enquiries, and for the valuable information which they have communicated.

JUNE, 1832.

THE

TRIAL

OF

EUGENE ARAM,

&c. &c.

DANIEL CLARK was born in Knaresbrough, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoe-maker. In or about the month of January, 1744-5, he married a woman with a fortune of two hundred pounds or upwards; and, being then in very good credit in Knaresbrough, it is presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a schoolmaster in that town, Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, and Henry Terry, an innkeeper, to defraud several persons of great quantities of goods and plate; and, that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for as he lived in good credit, and was lately married, he was thought the properest person for the intended purpose. Accordingly, Clark, for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresbrough, and took up great quantities of linen and woollen-drapery goods, under pretence that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only

clothes to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed-linen; in which he succeeded so well, that he got goods of that kind to a considerable amount. After this, he went to several innkeepers and others, desiring to borrow a silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alleging that he was to have company that night, and should be glad of the use of them at supper: and, in order to give a good colour to his story, he got of the innkeepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors.* This was on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5.

Some suspicious circumstances which appeared that night and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon inquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him: search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the goods were found at Houseman's, and another part, as some velvets, &c., were dug up in Aram's garden; but, as no plate was found, it was then concluded that Clark was gone off with that. Upon which the strictest inquiry was made after him, by sending people out into several parts, and advertising him in the public papers, but all to no purpose.

* Among other goods, he got the following, viz.:—Three silver tankards; four silver pints; one silver milk pot; one ring set with an emerald, and two brilliant diamonds: another with three rose diamonds: a third with an amethyst in the shape of a heart, and six plain rings; eight watches; two snuff boxes; Chambers' Dictionary, 2 vols. folio; Pope's Homer, 6 vols. bound.

From the above circumstances, Aram and Houseman were suspected of being accomplices with Clark; upon which, a process was granted from the steward of the honour of Knaresbrough, to arrest Aram for a debt due to one Mr. Norton, which was done with a view to detain him until a warrant could be had from a justice of peace, to take him up for being concerned with Clark in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Aram, contrary to the expectation of every person in town, (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced a large sum of money; and, in a few days, paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his liberation, he left Knaresbrough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found at Lynn, in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresbrough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered, touching Clark's being murdered, until the 1st of August, 1758, (which was upwards of thirteen years from the time of Clark's being missing) when it happened that a labourer, employed in digging for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-hill, near Knaresbrough, having at the edge of the cliff, dug about half a yard deep, found a wooden chest, which on being removed was found to contain a human skeleton, that had been put in double. A traveller, servant to a Jew, was, with his stock in trade, missing about the time that Daniel Clark disappeared,

and as his employer could trace him no farther than Knaresbrough, it was afterwards suspected he had been murdered, and that these were his remains. This remarkable incident being rumoured in the town of Knaresbrough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered and buried there; and the rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for sixty years and upwards, except the Jew. The strangeness of the event, excited people's curiosity to enquire strictly into it: upon which the coroner was sent for, and an inquisition taken on the skeleton. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, was now examined by the coroner and jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark. She said "Daniel Clark was an intimate ac-
"quaintance of her husband's; and that they had fre-
"quent transactions together before the 7th of February,
"1744-5, and that Richard Houseman was often with
"them: particularly, that on Thursday, the 7th of Fe-
"bruary, 1744-5, about six o'clock in the evening, Aram
"came home when she was washing in the kitchen;
"upon which he directed her to put out the fire, and
"make one above stairs: she accordingly did so. Aram
"then went out again, and about two o'clock in the
"morning, on Friday, the 8th of February, Aram, Clark,
"and Houseman, came to Aram's house, and went up
"stairs to the room where she was: they staid about an
"hour. Her husband asked her for an handkerchief for

" Dicky (meaning Richard Houseman) to tie about his " head: she accordingly lent him one. Then Clark said " ' *It will soon be morning, and we must get off.*' Af- " ter which, Aram, Houseman, and Clark, all went out " together:—that upon Clark's going out, she observed " him take a sack or wallet upon his back, which he " carried along with him: whither they went, she " could not tell. That about five o'clock the same " morning, her husband and Houseman returned, and " *Clark did not come with them.* Her husband came " up stairs, and desired to have a candle, that he might " make a fire below. To which she objected, and said " There was no occasion for two fires, as there was a " good one in the room above, where she then was. " To which Aram (her husband) answered, ' Dicky " ' (meaning Richard Houseman) was below, and did " ' not choose to come up stairs:' upon which she ask- " ed (Clark not returning with them) *what they had* " *done with Daniel?* To this her husband gave no " answer; but desired her to go to bed, which she re- " fused; and told him *they had been doing something* " *bad:* then Aram went down with the candle. She " being desirous to know what her husband and " Houseman were doing, and being about to go down " stairs, heard Houseman say to Aram, ' *She is* " ' *coming.*' Her husband replied ' *We'll not let her.*' " Houseman then said ' *If she does she'll tell.*'— " ' *What can she tell?*' replied Aram, ' *poor simple* " ' *thing! she knows nothing.*' To which Houseman

" said, ' *If she tells that I am here, 'twill be enough.*'
" Her husband then said, ' *I will hold the door to pre-*
" ' *vent her from coming.*' Whereupon Houseman
" said, ' *Something must be done to prevent her tel-*
" ' *ling,*' and pressed him to it very much; and said,
" ' *If she does not tell now, she may at some other*
" ' *time.*' ' *No.*' said her husband, ' *we will coax her*
" ' *a little, until her passion be off, and then take an*
" ' *opportunity of shooting her:*' upon which House-
" man seemed satisfied and said, ' *What must be*
" ' *done with her clothes?*' Whereupon they both
" agreed, that *they would let her lie where she was*
" *shot in her clothes.* She hearing this discourse, was
" much terrified, but remained quiet until seven o'clock
" in the same morning, when Aram and Houseman
" went out of the house a second time. Upon
" which, coming down stairs, and seeing there had
" been a fire below, and all the ashes taken care-
" fully from the grate, she went and examined the
" dunghill, and perceiving ashes of a different kind to
" lie upon it, she searched among them, and found se-
" veral pieces of linen and woollen cloth, not entirely
" consumed, which had the appearance of belonging to
" wearing apparel. When she returned into the house,
" she found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman
" the night before; and looking at it, *found some*
" *blood upon it, about the size of a shilling:* upon
" which she immediately went to Houseman, and
" showed him the pieces of cloth she had found; and

" said, *she was afraid they had done something bad* " *to Clark.* But Houseman affected great surprise— " pretended he was a stranger to her accusation,—and " said he knew nothing what she meant. From the " above circumstances, she believes Daniel Clark to " have been murdered by Richard Houseman and " Eugene Aram, on the morning of Friday, the 8th of " February, 1744-5."

Mr. *Philip Coates*, of Knaresbrough, brother to Daniel Clark's wife, was then examined by the coroner; who said, " He knew Daniel Clark from a child; and " that he was with him on Thursday, the 7th of Febru- " ary, 1744-5, about nine o'clock at night, and that " Clark promised to call upon him in the morning: but " not doing so, he went to Clark's house, about nine " o'clock in the morning. After inquiring for him " there, Clark's maid told him he was gone to New-hall, " to his wife. On Sunday, the 10th of February he " (Coates) went to New-hall to seek Clark, but could " not hear of him, nor ever did, though he had been ad- " vertised for some time. That a week or ten days be- " before Clark was missing, he received a large sum of " money; and that no money was remaining at his " house after he disappeared."

Several other witnesses were examined by the coroner, affirming that *Eugene Aram and Richard Houseman, were the last persons seen with Clark, especially on the night of Thursday, the 7th of Fe-*

bruary, 1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which, to avoid repetition, will be shown at large when we come upon the trial. We shall only add, that of *John Yeates,* a barber, in Knaresbrough, who said: "He "knew Daniel Clark, and the last time he saw him, "was then about thirteen or fourteen years ago, and "that he had been missing ever since. Some time af- "ter which, as he (Yeates) was going over Thistle-hill, "near the rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug, and "oblong; he presumed it might contain a boy of about "twelve years of age; that he had seen the place "where the bones of a deceased person were found, "and said it was the same he saw fresh dug up."

Barbara Leetham, of Knaresbrough, widow, gave the same kind of evidence.

Mr. *Higgins* and Mr. *Locock,* of Knaresbrough, surgeons, upon breaking a thigh bone of the skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion, that the body might have laid in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

These testimonies were given before the inquest, in the manner related, and Houseman, by the coroner's orders, being present, *it was observed that he seemed very uneasy; discovering all the signs of guilt, such as trembling, turning pale, faltering in his speech:* This, with the strong circumstances given by Mrs. Aram, &c., gave a suspicion *that he must have been concerned in the murder of Clark,* though he gave no

account of the matter, and denied that he knew any thing concerning that bloody deed.

What verdict was given by the coroner's jury upon this circumstantial evidence to prove that Clark was murdered, and that the bones which had been accidentally found, were his, we are not told;—but upon the skeleton's being produced, Houseman, at the coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and in his confusion, dropped this unguarded expression, "*This is no more Dan Clark's bone than it is mine!*" From which it was concluded, that if Houseman was so certain that the bones before him were *not* Dan Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so he answered, "That he could produce a witness who "had seen Daniel Clark upon the road two or three "days after he was missing at Knaresbrough." Accordingly the witness, one Parkinson, was sent for; who, on being asked the question, told the coroner and jury "that he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after "that time, viz., the 8th of February, 1744-5; that a "friend of his (Parkinson's) told him he had met a "person *like* Daniel Clark, but as it was a snowy day "and the person had the cape of his great coat up, he "could not say, with the least degree of certainty, who "he was."

This, so far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houseman was either the murderer of Clark, or an accomplice in the murder, upon which the constable applied to William Thornton, Esq., (of

Thornville) who, being informed by the coroner, of the depositions, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: here he said,—" He " was in company with Daniel Clark the night before " he went off, which he believes might be on a Thurs- " day, in February, 1744-5;—that the reason of his " being then with him, was upon account of some " money, viz., £20, that he had lent Clark, which he " wanted to get again of him, and for which he (Clark) " then gave him some goods that took up a consider- " able time in carrying from Clark's house to his own, " viz. from eleven (the hour at which he went to " Clark,) till some time the next morning:—that the " goods he took were leather, and some linen cloth;— " that as soon as he had possessed himself of these " goods, and also of a note of the prices he was to sell " them at, he left Clark in Aram's house with Aram " and another man, unknown to this examinant:—who " further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately af- " ter, followed him out of Aram's house, and went into " the market-place, with the other unknown person, " which the light of the moon enabled him to see;— " that he does not know what became of them after: and " utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house " that morning with Aram and without Clark, as is as- " serted by Mrs. Aram;—nor was he with Aram, but " with Clark, at Aram's house that night, whither he " went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the

" note as he has already declared;—that after he had " lodged the goods he had got at Clark's house, safely in " his own, he went to seek Clark, found him at Aram's, " with the unknown person, and after he had procured the " note, which was his errand, he came away directly, as " was before related.—He further saith, that he did not " see Clark take any wallet, plate, or things of value along " with him when they came out of the house the last " time, which was early in the morning. But he admits, " that some time after Clark was missing, Anna Aram " came to him in a passion, and demanded money of " him, and said he had money of her husband's, in his " hands, and pretended to shew him some shreds of " cloth, and asked if he knew what they were? To " which he answered, that he did not know. And en- " tirely denies that he ever has been charged with the " murder of Daniel Clark, till now by Anna Aram."

Being asked if he chose to sign this examination, he said he chose to wave it for the present; for that he might have something to add, and therefore desired to have time to consider of it.

As he would not sign this examination, it was presumed that he was conscious he had not declared the truth of the matter; and Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him to York castle the following morning. At Green Hammerton, on the road to York, he behaved to his conductors in such a manner, as to show that he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it, and that he was desirous of making a more ample confession on

their arrival at York. Being come to the Minster in Micklegate, they were informed that Mr. Thornton, the magistrate before mentioned, was then passing by; Houseman desired he might be called into the house, and in his presence made the following confession:—

"That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene "Aram, late of Knaresbrough, a schoolmaster; and, as "he believes, on Friday, the 8th of February, 1744-5, "for that he was with Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark "at Aram's house early that morning, (being moon- "light, and snow upon the ground) and that he (House- "man) left the house and went up the street a little "before, and they called to him, desiring he would go "a short way with them, and he accordingly went "along with them to a place called St. Robert's cave, "near Grimbald-bridge, where Aram and Clark stopped; "*there he saw Aram strike Clark several times over* "*the breast and head, and saw him fall as if he was* "*dead; upon which he came away and left them.* "But whether Aram used any weapon or not, to kill "Clark, he could not tell; *nor does he know what he* "*did with the body afterwards;* but believes that "Aram left it at the mouth of the cave; for that seeing "Aram do this, lest he might share the same fate, he "made the best of his way from him, and got to the "bridge-end; where, looking back, he saw Aram coming "from the cave side (which is in a private rock adjoin- "ing the river) and could discern a bundle in his hand, "but did not know what it was; upon this he hastened

" away to the town, without either joining Aram, or " seeing him again till the next day, and from that " time to this, he never had any private discourse with " him." Afterwards, however, Houseman said that " *Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's cave;* and, " that he was sure it was then there, but desired it " might remain till such time as Aram should be ta- " ken." He added further, that " *Clark's head lay* " *to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the* " *cave.*" These words Houseman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker, the constable.*

On Houseman's commitment to the castle, (which was on Thursday, August 17th, 1758,) proper persons were appointed to examine St. Robert's cave, where, agreeable to his confession, was found the skeleton of a human body, *the head lying as he before had said:* upon which, an inquisition was taken by the coroner, but we are not told what verdict the jury gave, or whether these bones, and those before discovered by chance, were *both* found to be the bones of Clark, or *either*, or *neither* of them, or *who* was, by the verdict, charged with the murder.

Houseman having thus declared that Clark was murdered by Aram; who was found to be at Lynn, in Nor-

* This confession Mr. Thornton gave to Houseman to read over; and, after he had so done, asked him if he chose to sign it; to which he consented, replying " that it was the truth, and the real " truth." Upon which he was committed to the castle.

folk;* Mr. Thornton issued his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker, and Mr. Francis Moor, the constables of Knaresbrough, to Sir John Turner, Bart., a justice of the peace, and M. P. for Lynn, with orders to call at every post-office on the road, and enquire for letters directed for Aram—they did so, and found only one, in which was written—"*Fly for your life, you are pursued.*" On their arrival at Lynn, they waited on this gentleman, who endorsed the warrant, and Aram was apprehended in the free-school at that place, where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire. Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, he confessed—"That he "was well acquainted with Daniel Clark; and to the "best of his remembrance, it was about, or before the "8th of February, 1744-5, but utterly denied he had "any connexion with him in those frauds which Clark "stood charged with, at or before the time of his disap-"pearance, which might be about the 10th of February, "1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested by process "for debt:—that, during the time of his being in cus-"tody, he first heard that Clark was missing:—that "after his release, he was apprehended by a warrant "from a justice of the peace, for a misdemeanor; but

* It was not then known where Aram was, till a man who had formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Knaresbrough, and who then travelled about the country with a stallion, happening to be in the town and hearing Aram's name mentioned, said he had seen that man lately at Lynn, in Norfolk, and added, "but he was too proud to speak to me."

" appearing before the justice, and the charge not being
" made out against him, he was dismissed :—after this
" he continued at Knaresbrough a considerable time,
" without any molestation; and then removed to Not-
" tingham, to spend a few days with his relations: from
" whence he went to London. There he resided pub-
" licly till he came down to Lynn, which was about
" seven months before he was arrested by warrant, on
" suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Daniel
" Clark.—He admits that he might be with Clark, in
" February, 1744-5, but does not recollect that he was
" at Mr. Carter's, who keeps a public-house in Knares-
" brough, with a Jew, Richard Houseman a flax-
" dresser, and Daniel Clark, about twelve o'clock at
" night, on the 7th of February, 1744-5;—nor does he re-
" collect that he was in company with Clark and House-
" man, after two o'clock in the morning, at any parti-
" cular time or place, in February, 1744-5,—nor at and
" after three o'clock in the morning;—nor at Grimbald-
" bridge;—nor at, or near a place called St. Robert's
" cave, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning;
" —nor does he know any thing of Clark being mur-
" dered;—nor does he recollect that he was with
" Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon Wil-
" liam Tuton, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the
" morning;—nor does he remember any thing of a ma-
" son's tool being found in his own house, when he was
" arrested by a warrant, in 1744-5;—nor does he re-
" member meeting Mr. Barnett, or seeing him in com-

" pany with the above-said persons, the 8th of Febru-
" ary, 1744-5, in the morning;—nor does he remember
" that he came home that morning at five o'clock, with
" Houseman, and made a fire for them in his own
" house, which is asserted by his wife;—nor does he
" remember that he had so great a sum of money as
" fifty guineas about that time, or pulled any such sum
" out of his pocket;—nor did he seek to suborn or ask
" any one person to say that he had seen Clark since
" the 8th of February, 1744-5, who really had not seen
" him;—but true it was that he has often made inquiry
" about him, and particularly of his brother Stephen
" Aram, but does not recollect any other person, except
" another brother of his, Henry Aram, who has said
" that he saw him, nor does he know where it was
" those brothers said they saw him." The declaration of other circumstances, and the signing of this examination, he chose to wave, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and lest any thing should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him.

Though, in his examination, he denies the murder that was charged upon him by Houseman, in his confession, yet, notwithstanding, Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him; and accordingly made out his commitment. In obedience to which, Barker and Moor were about to convey him to York castle, and had taken him a mile from Mr. Thornton's house, when Aram desired to return to Mr. Thornton, having, as he alleged, something of consequence to impart to him.

Accordingly they returned to Mr. Thornton's; where Aram, upon being *a second time examined*, said, "That he was at his own house on Thursday, the "7th of February, 1744-5, at night, when Richard "Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some "plate, and both of them went for more several times, "and came back with several pieces of plate, of which "Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours: "—that he could not but observe, that Houseman was "all that night very diligent to assist him to the utmost "of his power, and insisted that it was Houseman's "business that night, and not the signing any note or "instrument, as is pretended by Houseman.—That "Henry Terry then of Knaresbrough, ale-draper, was "as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as "either Houseman or Clark; but, was not now at Aram's "house, because, as it was market-day, his absence "from his guests might have occasioned some suspicion: "—that Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver "tankards that night, upon Clark's account, which had "been fraudulently obtained:—and, that Clark, so "far from having borrowed £20 of Houseman, to his "knowledge never borrowed more than £9, which he "had paid again before that night.—That all the lea-"ther Clark had, which amounted to a considerable "value, he well knows was concealed under flax, "in Houseman's house, with intent to be disposed of "by little and little, in order to prevent suspicion of "his being concerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

" —That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark and " Houseman did the watches, rings, and several small " things of value, and carried them into the flat, where " they and he (Aram) went together to St. Robert's cave, " and beat most of the plate flat.—That it was thought " too late in the morning, being about four o'clock, on " the 8th of February, 1744-5, for Clark to go off, so as " to get to any distance, it was therefore agreed he should " stay there till the night following, and Clark accord- " ingly staid there all that day, as he believes, they ha- " ving agreed to send him victuals, which were carried " to him by Henry Terry, he being judged the most " likely person to do it without suspicion, for as he was " a shooter, he might go thither under the pretence of " sporting.—That the next night, in order to give Clark " more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard House- " man, and himself, went down to the cave, very early; " but he (Aram) did not go in to see Clark at all;— " that Richard Houseman, and Henry Terry, only, " went into the cave, he staying to watch, at a little " distance on the outside, lest any person should sur- " prise them.—That he believes they were beating " some plate, for he heard them make a noise; they " staid there about an hour, and then came out of the " cave, and told him that Clark was gone off.—Observ- " ing a bag they had along with them, he took it in his " hand, and saw that it contained plate.—On asking " ' why Daniel did not take the plate along with him?' " Terry and Houseman replied,—' that they had bought

" ' it of him, as well as the watches, and had given him
" ' money for it, that being more convenient for him to
" ' go off with, as less cumbersome and dangerous.'
" After which they all three went into Houseman's
" warehouse, and concealed the watches with the small
" plate there, but that Terry carried away with him
" the large plate:—That afterwards Terry told him he
" carried it to How-hill, and hid it there, and then went
" into Scotland, and disposed of it: but as to Clark,
" he could not tell whether he was murdered or not,
" he knew nothing of him, only that they told him he
" was gone off."

After he had signed this second confession, he was conducted to York castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram, there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended, and committed to the castle. Bills of indictment were found against him: but it appearing to the court upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammas assizes.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the bar, and arraigned for the murder of Daniel Clark, in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5.

Richard Houseman was first tried, but the evidence not being sufficient to convict him, he was acquitted.

All accessaries or accomplices in murder, in the eye of the law, are deemed principals; and though the court were convinced, from various circumstances, during his trial, that he was deeply implicated in the fact, yet, as there was no direct proof of it, the jury could not find him guilty. Being thus acquitted, he was entirely at liberty to give his evidence against Eugene Aram. The court accordingly admitted him as a witness, and he was sworn to speak the truth.

Houseman then gave his evidence, but with such caution and reluctance that it was plain nothing short of the most imperious necessity obliged him to accuse a man of a crime in which himself had too near a concern. Besides, he was fearful lest he should involve himself, in what he should declare against his companion in iniquity, and, by confessing the fact, which could not be proved against him on his own trial, he should lay himself open to the law, and be again questioned, for the crime of which he had been already acquitted, so that he could not give his evidence with such fullness and clearness as a person quite disinterested would have done.

He was first asked *whether he knew Daniel Clark of Knaresbrough;—how long since he was acquainted with him;—and whether he could tell any thing concerning the manner of his death.*

Houseman answered—that he knew Daniel Clark very well—that he had been acquainted with him some years before his death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1745.

The court then asked him—*if he did not know in what manner Clark came by his death—if he did not know, or believe, he was murdered, and by whom—particularly whether he was not killed by the prisoner at the bar.*

To this Houseman answered—though with a trembling voice, and with visible confusion in his face, that, since he was under the obligation of an oath to speak the truth, he would no longer burden his conscience with the concealment of facts which ought long since to have seen the light, and to have been punished with the utmost rigour of the law.—That it was true, that, in accusing Aram, he could not entirely acquit himself; yet, since it was the will of heaven that this murder should be discovered, after it had been so long buried in oblivion, he would no longer oppose it by endeavouring to stifle the knowledge of so heinous a crime, or skreen the guilty from the stroke of justice.—That he did very well remember the time, manner, and occasion, of Clark's death,—that it happened in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, in this manner, viz.:—About eleven o'clock on the night aforesaid; he (Houseman) went to Aram's house, where he found Clark and Aram together—that after about two hours spent in passing to and fro between their respective houses, in consulting by what ways and means they should dispose of various goods which Clark had in his possession, and in settling some notes relating thereto,

—Aram, the prisoner, proposed, first to Clark, and then to him the witness (Houseman), to take a walk;—this was agreed to, and accordingly they walked into a field at a little distance from the town, where there is a cave, well known in that country by the name of Saint Robert's Cave;—that when they came into the said field, Aram and Clark went over the hedge towards the cave; and being come within six or eight yards of it, he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he (Houseman) never saw him afterwards.

The court then asked him *what instrument or weapon it was, with which Aram struck Clark.*

Houseman replied, that he saw no weapon or instrument in his hand, and did not know that he had any, so far as he could see, at the distance he was from them, and it being likewise in the night, he could not swear positively to a fact of which he was not very certain:—He acknowledged that he did not interpose, or strive in any way to prevent the perpetration of this horrid crime; nor did he make any noise, call out, or cause an alarm to be made, in order to apprehend the criminal, and bring him to justice.

Upon which the court asked him *why he did not afterwards make a discovery, since he could not but know that he was bound in duty, both to his country and to public justice, to bring such a notorious offender to condign punishment.*

His answer was—that immediately on seeing Clark fall, he returned home*—that the next morning he went to Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night—and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question, but threatened him, that if ever he spoke of his (Aram's) being in Clark's company that night, he would take very ample revenge, either by himself, or by some other person.

Here Aram desired Houseman might be asked—*how he could be so positive as to swear that he saw him strike Clark, when he himself allows that this was all done in the night, in the depth of winter, in the month of February, when every one knows the nights are very dark.*

To this Houseman answered—that though this was done in the night, yet the moon was then up, and though, by the interposition of clouds, she did not give much light, yet it was light enough to distinguish objects at a small distance, though not very distinctly; and he could see, by the motion of Aram's hand, that he was striking Clark, though he could not perceive the weapon with which he struck him.

Aram then desired he might be asked—*at what dis-*

* It may be observed, that Houseman, in this part of his evidence at least, was guilty of manifest perjury; for, if this were true, he could not certainly have known where Clark's body was buried, much less its particular position in the grave; but it appears to a demonstration that he knew both, as it was found in the place, and with all the circumstances, he described.

tance he was from him, when he saw him strike Clark.

Houseman answered—that to the best of his judgement and recollection, he believes that Aram and Clark were about ten or a dozen yards on the other side of the hedge, when he saw Aram strike Clark, who fell under his blows.

Another question Aram desired might be put to Houseman was—*why he did not go over the hedge into the field along with him and Clark, since they came out together, and had no business to talk of but what concerned them all.*

This was a shrewd and searching question, a true and direct answer to which might possibly have affected the witness too much:—To say that he knew what Aram's design was, and that he staid behind on purpose to give him an opportunity to effect what he was about, would have been to confess himself an accessary:—*He therefore threw himself on the protection of the court—he humbly hoped he should not be obliged to answer a question, the answer to which might involve an accusation of himself, and might even have a tendency to bring his own life in danger.*—And the court, who saw clearly enough through the tendency of the question, freed him from the embarrassment, by leaving him at liberty *not to answer it*, if he foresaw that by so doing he should be forced to accuse himself, which the law obliges no man to do.

Other witnesses were then called to prove that

Daniel Clark did buy upon credit, and likewise borrow among his friends and acquaintance, a large quantity of silver plate, jewels, watches, rings, &c. One, that he had sold him a large silver tankard—another, a silver pepper-box, milk-pot, spoons, &c., pretending that a merchant in London had sent him an order to buy as much old silver plate as he could, it being intended for exportation: and as they knew Clark very well, they had no reason to suspect his veracity, his character as an honest man having never been called in question. They therefore gave him the credit he desired, upon his promise that he would pay for the goods as soon as he received a remittance from the merchant, which would be as soon as he received them.

As to those whose watches or other curiosities he borrowed, he pretended it was only to take patterns of them for the best fashions, by which he might direct the making of others, which some gentlemen of his acquaintance had ordered him to get finished in the best and newest mode; and they having no reason to suspect him of any ill design made no scruple to oblige him with what he wanted.

They all agreed in this, that none of them had the least suspicion of his intention to defraud them till his sudden disappearance in the month of February, 1744-5. Then, indeed, they all concluded he had gone off with their effects, and that he had laid this scheme for that very purpose; and as he had never been heard of since that time, it was the general opinion that he

had gone to some foreign country, in order to dispose of the goods of which he had so wickedly defrauded them.

Peter Moor (who had been Clark's servant) deposed—"that a little time before his disappearing, "Clark went to receive his wife's fortune.—That upon "his return, he went to Aram's house, where this "witness then was.—That upon Clark's coming in, "Aram said, '*How do you do, Mr. Clark—I'm glad* "'*to see you at home again, pray what success?*' To "which Clark replied,—'*I have received my wife's* "'*fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it* "'*was with difficulty I got it.*' Upon which Aram "said to Clark, (Houseman being present) '*Let us* "'*go up stairs:*' accordingly they went; upon which "this witness returned home."

Mr. *Beckwith*, of Knaresbrough, linen-draper, deposed,—"That, when Aram's garden was searched, on "suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of "Clark, there were found buried there several kinds of "goods, bound together in a coarse wrapper; and "amongst the rest, in particular, a piece of cambric, "which he himself had sold Clark, a very little time "before."

Thomas Barnett deposed—"That, on Friday, the 8th "of February, *about one in the morning*, he saw a "person come from Aram's house, who had a wide "coat on, with the cape about his head, and who seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and "put by the cape of his great coat, and perceiving it to

" be *Richard Houseman*, wished him a good night, " alias, a good morning."

John Barker, the constable, who executed the warrant, granted by Mr. Thornton, and endorsed by Sir John Turner, deposed,—" That, at Lynn, Sir John " Turner, and some others, went first into the school " where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. " Sir John asked him *if he knew Knaresbrough.* He " replied *No.* And he being further asked *if he had* " *any acquaintance with one Daniel Clark,*—he *de-* " *nied that he ever knew such a man.* The witness " then entered the school, and said, *How do you do,* " *Mr. Aram?* Aram replied, *How do you do, Sir? I* " *don't know you. What!* said the witness, *don't you* " *know me—don't you remember Daniel Clark, and* " *that you had a spite against me when you lived at* " *Knaresbrough?* Upon this he recollected the wit- " ness, and owned his residence at Knaresbrough. " The witness then asked him, *if he did not know St.* " *Robert's cave.* He answered *yes.* The witness re- " plied, *aye, to your sorrow.**—That upon their jour- " ney to York, Aram inquired after his old neighbours, " and what they said of him. To which the witness " replied, that they were much enraged against him, " for the loss of their goods.—That upon Aram's ask- " ing, *If it was not possible to make up the matter,* " the witness answered, *He believed he might save*

* A very impertinent observation indeed, on the part of this officious constable.

" *himself if he would restore to them what they had* " *lost.* Aram answered, *That was impossible:* but " *he might, perhaps, find them an equivalent.*"

Aram was then asked by the Judge, if he had any thing to say to the witness before him. He replied, that, to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it, could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten *inwards*, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. *Lo-cock*, the surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his opinion, " That no such breach could proceed from any " natural decay—that it was not a recent fracture by " the instrument with which it was dug up, but seem-" ed to be of many years' standing."

The prisoner was then asked, *if he had any witnesses, or whether he had any thing to offer in his own defence.*

Aram answered, that it was impossible for him, after so long an interval of time, as had passed since the commission of the fact with which he was charged, to produce any witnesses in his justification. That those who could have been of use to him on this occasion were either dead, or so dispersed about the kingdom that he knew not where to find them: but he hoped

the court would consider, that all the evidence against him was no more than *circumstantial*, except that of Houseman, *who, it plainly appeared, even from his own shewing, was an accessary to the fact*, though he had been acquitted; and *therefore he submitted it to the court whether such evidence ought to be received.* —He then begged he might be indulged in reading his defence.

The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original, and retaining even its accidental grammatical inaccuracies.

"MY LORD,

"I know not whether it is of right, or through some "indulgence of your Lordship, that I am allowed the "liberty at this bar, and at this time, to attempt a de- "fence; incapable, and uninstructed as I am, to speak. "Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so nume- "rous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention, and "filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour, "not with guilt, my Lord, but with perplexity. For, "having never seen a court but this, being wholly un- "acquainted with law, the customs of the bar, and all "judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little capa- "ble of speaking with propriety in this place, that it "exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

"I have heard, my Lord, the indictment read, where- "in I find myself charged with the highest crime,— "with an enormity I am altogether incapable of;— a "fact, to the commission of which there goes far more

" insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than " ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have " admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravi- " ty, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as " I stand indicted at your Lordship's bar, and have " heard what is called evidence adduced in support of " such a charge, I very humbly solicit your Lordship's " patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable au- " dience, while I, single and unskilful, destitute of " friends, and unassisted by counsel, say something, " perhaps like argument, in my defence. I shall con- " sume but little of your Lordship's time: what I have " to say will be short, and this brevity probably will be " the best part of it. However, it is offered with all " possible regard, and the greatest submission to your " Lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable " court.

" *First*, my Lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in " life, contradicts every particular of this indictment. " Yet I had never said this, did not my present circum- " stances extort it from me, and seem to make it ne- " cessary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon ma- " lignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this pro- " secution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which " prejudice was not the author. No, my Lord, I con- " certed no schemes of fraud—projected no violence— " injured no man's person or property:—My days were " honestly laborious—my nights intensely studious. " And I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially

" at this time, will not be thought impertinent or un-
" seasonable, but at least, deserving some attention:
" Because, my Lord, that any person, after a tempe-
" rate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regu-
" larly, and without one single deviation from sobriety,
" should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, pre-
" cipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and
" unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the
" course of things.—Mankind are never corrupted at
" once;—villany is always progressive, and declines
" from right, step after step, till every regard of probity
" is lost, and every sense of moral obligation totally
" perishes.

" *Again*, my Lord, a suspicion of this kind, which
" nothing but malevolence could entertain, and igno-
" rance propagate, is violently opposed by my very si-
" tuation at that time, with respect to health:—For,
" but a little space before, I had been confined to my
" bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disor-
" der, and was not able, for half a year together, so
" much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet
" slowly and in part; but so macerated, so enfeebled,
" that I was reduced to crutches; and I was so far
" from being well about the time I am charged with
" this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered.
" Could then a person in this condition take any thing
" into his head so unlikely—so extravagant?—I, past
" the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with
" no inducement to engage—no ability to accomplish

" —no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact;—
" without interest, without power, without motive, and
" without means.

" Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an
" action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but,
" when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was
" to support some indolence, or to supply some luxury;
" to satisfy some avarice, or to gratify some malice;—
" to prevent some real or some imaginary want: yet I
" lay not under the influence of any one of these. Sure-
" ly, my Lord, I may, consistently with both truth and
" modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any
" veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

" In the *second* place, the disappearance of Clark is
" suggested as an argument of his being dead. But,
" my Lord, the uncertainty of such an inference from
" that fact, and indeed the fallibility of all conclusions
" of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too ob-
" vious, and too notorious to require instances: yet,
" superseding many; permit me to produce a very re-
" cent one, and that afforded by this castle.

" In June, 1757, William Thompson, amidst all the
" vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and double-
" ironed, made his escape; and, notwithstanding an
" immediate inquiry set on foot, the strictest search,
" and all advertisements, was never seen or heard of
" since.* If, then, Thompson got off unseen, through

* The skeleton of the above-mentioned William Thompson, was found

" these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, " when none of them opposed him?—But, what would " be thought of a prosecution commenced against any " one seen last with Thompson?

" Permit me, *next*, my Lord, to observe a little upon " the bones which have been discovered. It is said, " which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the " bones of a man. It is possible, indeed they may; " but, is there any certain known criterion, which in- " contestibly distinguishes the sex, in human bones? " —Let it be considered, my Lord, whether the ascer- " taining of this point ought not to precede any attempt " to identify them.

" The place of their *depositum*, too, claims much " more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it. " For of all places in the world, none could have men- " tioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty " of finding human bones, than an hermitage, except he " should point out a church-yard. Hermitages, my " Lord, in time past, being not only places of religious " retirement, but of burial too: and it has scarcely, or " perhaps never been heard of, but that every cell, now

on Saturday, the 8th of July, 1780, behind the Old Court House, in the Castle of York, near the foundation, and about three feet from the wall, with double irons on, having lain there 23 years. It is supposed that he got on the top of the Old Court House, by the assistance of a ladder which stood there, had dropped down the wall, and was killed by the fall. As nothing but nettles and weeds grew in the place where the bones were found, it was seldom visited by any person.

" known, contains, or contained, these relics of huma-
" nity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not in-
" form, but give me leave to remind your Lordship,
" that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit,
" or the anchoress, hoped for that repose for their
" bones, when dead, which they enjoyed when living.

" All this while, my Lord, I am sensible this is
" known to your Lordship, and to many in this court,
" better than I know it; but it seems necessary to my case,
" that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to
" things of this nature, and who may have some con-
" cern, or feel some interest, in my trial, should be
" made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my Lord,
" to produce a few out of many evidences, that these
" cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to
" enumerate a few in which human bones have been
" found, as it happened in this in question; lest, to
" some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and
" consequently occasion prejudice.

" 1. The bones, as it was supposed, of the Saxon St.
" *Dubricius*, were discovered buried in his cell at
" *Guy's-Cliff*, near *Warwick*, as appears from the au-
" thority of Sir William Dugdale.*

* *Guy's-Cliff* is a large rock about a mile north of Warwick, on the western bank of the Avon. It was made choice of by St. *Dubricius* (who had his episcopal seat at Warwick), for a place of devotion; and for that purpose he built an oratory there, to which place the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick is said to have retired from the cares of the world. It is now the seat of Bertie Greathead, Esq.—See *Leland's Itinerary*, IV., fol. 165; *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, p. 451; or *Gough's Camden*, II. p. 453. 2d Edit. 1806.

" 2. The bones, thought to be those of the anchoress " *Roisia*, were but lately discovered in a cell at *Roys-* " *ton*, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must " have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved " by Dr. Stukeley.*

" 3. But our own county, nay, almost this very " neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for in " 1727, were found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a " reverend gentleman, the bones, in part, of some re- " cluse, in the cell at *Lindholm*, near *Hatfield*. They " were believed to be those of *William of Lindholm*, " a hermit, who had long made this cave his habita- " tion.†

* In 1742, a kind of *cave*, or *souterrain*, was discovered, in sinking a hole for a post, in the Market-place at *Royston*, which was dignified by Dr. Stukeley with the name of *Lady Roisia's Oratory*, to which she retired, and where she was buried in 1167, and he even found her skull, and several of her bones. The discovery gave rise to a controversy respecting the antiquity and use of the place, which may be seen in Stukeley's " *Palæographia Britannica*; or Discourses on Antiquities in Great " Britain. Number I. *Origines Roystonianæ*, &c. London, 1743." 4to.; " and in " *An Answer to; or Remarks upon, Dr. Stukeley's Origines* " *Roystonianæ*; wherein the Antiquity and Imagery of the Oratory late- " ly discovered at Royston, in Hertfordshire, are truly stated and ac- " counted for, by Charles Parkin, Rector of Oxburgh, in Norfolk, " 1744." 4to.

See also *Gough's Camden*, II. 65, which contains an engraving of the interior of the place, copied from Dr. Stukeley's *Palæographia*, above mentioned.

† *Lynd-holm House* is situated in the parish and chase of Hatfield, about three miles south-east from Thorne, a small market town in the

" In February, 1749, part of *Woburn Abbey* being " pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, " even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a " knife; though it is certain this had lain above 200 " years, and how much longer is doubtful; for this ab- " bey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 " or 9.*

" What would have been said—what believed—if " this had been an accident to the bones in question?

west-riding of the county of York. The following account of this place was given by Mr. George Stovin, of Crowle, in Lincolnshire, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1747:—" The people of Hatfield and places " adjacent, have a tradition that, in the middle of Hatfield waste, there " formerly lived a hermit, called *William of Lyndholm*; he was by the " common people taken for a cunning man, or conjuror; but, in order " to be better informed, I, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley " and others, went to view the place, in August, 1727; and, after passing " the morass, we found the hermitage, or cell, situated in the midst of " about 60 acres of firm sandy ground, full of pebbles;—there was like- " wise a well, four or five yards deep, full of clear spring water, which we " thought very remarkable; the water of the morass being of the colour " of coffee. The house itself is a little stud-bound one, and seems ready " to fall; at the east end stood an altar, made of hewn stone, and at the " west was the hermit's grave, covered with a Free-stone, that measured " in length eight feet and a half—in breadth, three feet—and in thickness " eight inches; which, with the help of levers, we raised up, and below it " we found a skull, and the thigh and leg bones of a human body, all of a " very large size. It is not easy to imagine how such an immense stone " could be brought to this place, when it is difficult for either man or " horse to travel over the morass, which, in some places, is four miles " across."

* See the *Gent. Mag.* for 1749, page 153.

" Farther, my Lord, it is not yet out of living memo-
" ry, that, at a little distance from Knaresbrough, in a
" field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriotic
" Baronet,* who does that borough the honour to repre-
" sent it in parliament, were found, in digging for
" gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six,
" deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at its
" head, as your Lordship knows was usual in ancient
" interments.†

" About the same time, and in another field almost
" close to this borough, was discovered also in search-
" ing for gravel, another human skeleton; but the piety
" of the same worthy gentleman ordered both the pits
" to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to dis-
" turb the dead.

" Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or
" industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in
" question may appear the more singular and extraor-
" dinary? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordi-
" nary in it. My Lord, almost every place conceals such
" remains. In fields—in hills—in highway sides—and
" on commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones;
" and our present allotments for rest for the departed,
" are but of some centuries.

" Another particular seems not to claim a little of
" your Lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of
" the jury; which is, that perhaps no example occurs

* Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart., of Scriven-Hall.

† See Hargrove's History of Knaresbrough, pa. 154.

" of more than *one* skeleton being found *in one cell;*
" and in the cell in question was found but *one;*
" agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other
" known cell in Britain. Not the invention of *one* ske-
" leton, then, but of *two* would have appeared suspi-
" cious and uncommon.

" But then, my Lord, to attempt to identify these,
" when even to identify living men sometimes has
" proved so difficult; as in the case of *Lambert Synn-*
" *nel** and *Perkin Warbeck*, at home, and of *Don*

* The first and second of these adventurers were aspirants to the English throne, in the reign of Henry VII. *Symnel* is allowed on all hands to have been an impostor. He personated (in 1486) Edward, the young Earl of Warwick (then a prisoner in the Tower), son of George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. by Isabel Neville, eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Neville Earl of Warwick and Salisbury. He was countenanced and assisted both with men and money, by Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, the third sister of Edward IV., and the widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. This Princess, Lord Bacon says, had " the spirit of a man, and the malice and desire of re-
" venge of a woman :"—She detested Henry for his cruelty towards the friends of her family, and used every means of annoying him which her ample resources afforded. The attempt of Symnel was unsuccessful; he and his forces, upwards of 8,000 in number, were attacked by Henry and his army, in June, 1487, at Stoke, near Newark, and totally defeated :—His life was, however, spared, and he ended his days as a *tourne-broche* in the King's kitchen. The details may be found in Hollingshead, in Grafton, and indeed, in most Histories of England.

But Henry was not to be long at peace :—new toils were prepared for him by the active and persevering Margaret of Burgundy, and the web her ingenuity next wove, has set at defiance the keenest and most discerning historians to unravel. Soon after Symnel's insurrection was sup-

" *Sebastian*, abroad, will be looked upon perhaps, as " an attempt to determine what is undeterminable. And

pressed, another young man appeared at her court, affirming himself to be Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who was supposed to have been murdered in the Tower, by ruffians in the employ of Richard III., along with his elder brother, Edward V.—Margaret rejected him at first, as an impostor; but at an interview, in which he answered all her most ensnaring questions in pure English, with grace and accuracy, she wept aloud, embraced him as her nephew, stiled him, as he really was, the express image of her brother Edward, appointed a guard for him, called him " *her white rose*," and treated him as King of England.

Whether or not this youth was actually Richard Plantagenet, is a problem in literary history that has never yet been satisfactorily solved. All the old Chroniclers agree in calling him an impostor: they assert that his name was *Perkin Warbeck*, the nominal son of an apostate Jew, but the real, though illegitimate, offspring of Edward IV.; and that the Duchess of Burgundy instructed him privately in those minute particulars of the York family, which he related. But the researches of some later writers, and those of respectable fame, lead to a very different conclusion: the learned and industrious Dr. Henry, the gossiping but ingenious Horace Walpole, and the elegant and accurate historian of the Tower of London, have thrown such new light upon the subject, that the contrary opinion may be supported by the most plausible—not to say conclusive—arguments. Perkin, however, after numerous adventures, at last fell into the hands of the merciless Henry, and died on the scaffold, in 1499.—Such as feel an interest in the story of Perkin Warbeck, are referred more particularly to a Disquisition on the subject, in *Dr. Henry's History of England*; to *Mr. Bayley's History of the Tower*, 4to. Vol. II. pp. 347—352; and to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1825.

Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, was the posthumous son of the Infant Don John, by Joanna, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. He succeeded to the crown at three years of age, on the death of his grandfather John III. in the year 1557. By his education he acquired an extravagant admiration for valorous exploits. Under the influence of this

" I hope, too, it will not pass unconsidered here,— " where gentlemen believe with caution, think with

passion, he undertook an expedition to Africa, for the purpose of assisting Muley Hamet, King of Fez and Morocco, who had been dispossessed of his crown by his uncle, Muley Moloch. In vain was he dissuaded from the enterprise: he was inaccessible to all admonitions. Having stripped his country of its military strength, and the flower of the nobility, he set sail in the summer of 1578, and proceeded to Alcazar. There he was met by a much more numerous army than his own, commanded by Muley Moloch in person, who was so debilitated by sickness that he was carried in a litter. In the battle that ensued, the onset of the Portuguese army was so furious, that nothing could withstand them, and Muley, in rallying his men, was so much exhausted, that he died in the attempt. Sebastian, who was no less dexterous in the use of arms than brave, fought till two horses were killed under him, and most of his attendants were slain by his side. At length he disappeared; nor was it ever known, with any degree of certainty, what became of him. Such, however, was the attachment of the nation to a Prince, whose romantic valour had revived in their minds the heroic times of Portugal, that they refused to give credit to his death, and long entertained the full expectation of seeing him return from his supposed concealment. Of this opinion several individuals availed themselves, who assumed his character, and obtained a portion of respect due to their favourite Sovereign.— Three of these persons were generally considered impostors; who the fourth was, is not so clear. In two pamphlets published at London in 1602-3, one entitled " *The true History of the late and lamentable Ad-* " *ventures of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal;*" the other " *A continu-* " *ation of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don Sebastian,* " *King of Portugal,* with a Declaration of all his time employed since " the Battle in Africk against the Infidels, in 1578, until this present " year, 1603," a strong case is certainly made out in his favour; but as the kingdom of Portugal had then been seized by Philip II. of Spain, and as Don Sebastian, the claimant, was without money, and consequently without means, he was never able to resume the kingly power.

" reason, and decide with humanity,—what interest the " endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assign- " ing proper personality to those bones, whose par- " ticular appropriation can only appear to eternal " Omniscience.

" Permit me, my Lord, also very humbly to remon- " strate, that, as human bones appear to have been the " inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's " naming such a place at random, as containing them, " in this case, shows such person to be rather fortu- " nate, than consciously prescient; and that these at- " tendants on every hermitage only accidentally concur- " red with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence " of words and things.

" But it seems another skeleton has been discovered " by some labourer, which was full as confidently aver- " red to be Clark's as this is. My Lord, must some of " the living, if it promotes some interest, be made an- " swerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, " and chance exposed? And might not a place where " bones lay, be mentioned by a person by chance, as " well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it " more criminal accidentally to name where bones lie, " than accidentally to find where they lie?

" Here too is a human skull produced, which is " fractured; but was this the cause, or was it the con- " sequence of death; was it owing to violence, or was " it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, " was that violence before or after death? My Lord, in

" May, 1732, the remains of *William* Lord Arch-*
" *bishop of this province*, were taken up by permission,
" in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were
" found broken; yet, certainly, he died by no violence
" offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture
" there.

" Let it be considered, my Lord, how easily the frac-
" ture on the skull produced may be accounted for—that
" upon the dissolution of religious houses, at the com-
" mencement of the reformation, the ravages of those
" times affected both the living and the dead. In
" search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken
" up—graves and vaults dug open—monuments ran-
" sacked, and shrines demolished; your Lordship
" knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to oc-
" casion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and
" it did, about the beginning of the reign of Queen
" Elizabeth. I entreat your Lordship—suffer not the
" violences—the depredations, and the iniquities of
" those times, to be imputed to this.

" Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that
" Knaresbrough had a castle, which, though now a ruin,
" was once considerable for its strength and garrison.

* Commonly called Saint William, the 30th Archbishop of York. He was the nephew of King Stephen, being the son of his sister Emma, by her husband, Herbert, Count de Vermandois in Picardy:—He died June 8th, 1154.—See Drake's York, p. 417, &c.; the History of St. Peter's Church at York, (published at York, in 2 volumes, 12mo., 1770) p. 49; and the Gentleman's Magazine for 1756, p. 559.

" All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of " the parliament. At which siege, in sallies—conflicts " —flights—and pursuits, many fell in all the places " round it; and where they fell there they were buried; " for every place, my Lord, is burial earth in war;— " and many, questionless, of these, still rest unknown, " whose bones futurity shall discover.

" I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what " has been said, will not be thought impertinent to this " indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, " the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute " to the living what zeal in its fury may have done— " what nature may have taken off, and piety interred— " or what war alone may have destroyed—alone de- " posited.

" As to the circumstances that have been raked to- " gether, I have nothing to observe; but, that all cir- " cumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been " but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the " strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost " degree of probability; yet are they but probability " still. Why need I name to your Lordship the extra- " ordinary case of *Joan Perry*, and her *two sons*, re- " corded by Dr. Howell,* who all suffered upon circum-

* See his *Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 232. 9th Edit. 1734.—The particulars of this strange affair may be seen in a Pamphlet entitled " *A true account of the examination, trial, condemnation and execution of* " *Joan Perry, and her two sons John and Richard Perry, for the supposed* " *murder of Mr. William Harrison*, being one of the most remarkable oc-

" stances, because of the sudden disappearance of Mr. " Harrison, who was in credit—had contracted debts— " borrowed money—went off unseen, and returned " again many years after their execution.—Why name " the intricate affair of *Jaques du Moulin*,* under " King Charles II., related by a gentleman who was " counsel for the crown. And why the unhappy *Cole-* " *man*,† who suffered innocently, though convicted " upon positive evidence, and whose children perished " for want, because the world uncharitably believed the " father guilty.—Why mention the perjury of *Smith*,‡ " incautiously admitted King's evidence; who, to " screen himself, equally accused *Faircloth* and *Love-* " *day* of the murder of *Dunn;* the first of whom, in " March, 1749, was executed at Winchester; and " Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not " Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the " court, by the surgeon of the Gosport hospital.

" And, now, my Lord, having endeavoured to show " that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant " to every part of my life—that it is inconsistent with " my condition of health about that time—that no " rational inference can be drawn that a person is dead

" currences that have happened in the memory of man," &c. London, 1676, 4to., reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. VIII. pp. 86—96: 8vo. Edition.

* See Gent. Mag. 1754. pp. 404, 405, 406.

† .. Idem .....1749. pp. 139. 185. and 1751. pp. 377, 378.

‡ .. Idem .....1749. pp. 138. 291, 292, 293.

" who suddenly disappears—that hermitages were the " constant repositories of the bones of the recluse—that " the proofs of these are well authenticated—that the " revolutions in religion, and the fortune of war, have " mangled or buried the dead—that the strongest cir- " cumstantial evidence is often lamentably fallacious— " the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably " than impatiently wished for. I, at last, after a year's " confinement—equal to either fortune—put myself " upon the candour, the justice, and the humanity of " your Lordship—and upon yours, my countrymen, " gentlemen of the jury."

It may perhaps be thought by some, that the prisoner, in his defence, would have largely expatiated on the improbabilites, the inconsistencies, and contradictions in Houseman's testimony. But the defence was drawn up long before this trial, and he seems never to have entertained a suspicion that the evidence of a man so utterly worthless as Houseman was generally known to be, would have had any weight either with the Judge or with the jury. The writer of this was told, more than forty years ago, by a most respectable and very intelligent old gentleman, who knew Eugene Aram well, and respected him highly—who was present at his trial, and deeply lamented his unhappy fate—that his defence made such a forcible impression on the minds of the auditory, that it was the general belief a verdict of ac-

quittal would be returned. This, too, appears to have been the opinion of the late Dr. Paley, who was also present at the trial.

The Judge, however, took a different view of the case, and his summing up, was, at the time, thought quite as remarkable as the defence of the prisoner. He began by observing, that the defence was certainly a most learned, subtle, and eloquent composition—(and to this praise it is undoubtedly entitled)—but he thought it partook little of real feeling—that it strongly resembled, in style, the pleading of a practised rhetorician, who had no interest in the transaction, but took up the case solely for the purpose of displaying his own ingenuity.

He then recapitulated the evidence, at great length, to the jury. He observed how the testimonies of the other deponents confirmed that of Houseman; and then, touching on the contradictory parts of the latter, he gave it as his opinion that some such contradictions might naturally be expected, and indeed, were inevitable, in a witness who had not only to give evidence against another, but to refrain from criminating himself. *There could be no doubt*, he said, *but that Houseman was an accomplice in the crime;* and all, therefore, that seemed improbable in his giving no alarm when the deed was done, was perfectly reconcileable with the other parts of his evidence.

Commenting, then, on the defence of the prisoner, and again eulogizing its eloquence and art, till he de-

stroyed their effect, by guarding the jury against that impression which eloquence and art produce, in defiance of simple fact; he contended, that Aram had yet alleged nothing to invalidate the positive evidence against him.

The jury, in accordance with the opinion of the Judge, and contrary to general expectation, immediately, without going out of court, returned a verdict of *guilty*. The Judge then pronounced the awful sentence of death in the usual form.

The prisoner, during the whole trial, conducted himself with great steadiness and decency. He heard the verdict, and received his sentence, with the most profound composure, and even left the bar with a smile on his countenance.

Eugene Aram wrote the following brief account of his family, his life, and his pursuits, in the short interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution.* So far as it is given to the public, it is given with the same scrupulous exactness with which his defence has been printed. It must, however, be declared, that as we suppressed a part of his second confession, because it reflected on some characters that then stood unimpeached, so we have also suppressed a part of this

* Why any part of Eugene Aram's second confession as it is called, or of his interesting piece of auto-biography, was suppressed by the original compiler of this pamphlet, cannot perhaps now be ascertained: the present editor fears it was done with no very friendly intention. The suppression was certainly an act of manifest injustice to the memory of the ingenious and accomplished, though ill fated scholar. To say

performance, as being extremely injurious to the integrity and candour of the court.

merely that he reflected on characters that then stood unimpeached—or that he complained of partiality and want of candour in the Judge—is not at all satisfactory at the present time. It would be desirable to know *who* and *what* the persons were on whom he reflected—what those reflections were—and what he said of the conduct of the Judge:—Be those reflections and those complaints what they might—the present writer hesitates not to avow that strong doubts have always rested, and still rest, on his mind, as to the actual guilt of Eugene Aram:—He cannot believe that a man of modest manners and retired habits, addicted to no excess—a man "whose days were honestly laborious, and whose nights "were intensely studious"—a man that was such a greedy epicure of knowledge in all its varied departments—a man who appears to have lived only for the single purpose of enriching his mind with the treasures of literature—whose sole delight was in holding converse with the venerable sages of antiquity:—He repeats,—even though he stand alone—that he cannot, he will not believe that such a man actually imbrued his hands in human blood. No, notwithstanding all that was said and sworn against Eugene Aram—notwithstanding the partial summing up of the Judge, and the hasty decision of the jury, he conscientiously believes that this illustrious scholar was *not guilty* of the crime for which he suffered:—And farther, he is convinced, that no British Judge could be found at the present day, who would sum up with such a hostile feeling towards any prisoner, as Judge Noel certainly manifested:—He is still more convinced, that, whatever the summing up of a Judge might be—no twelve men could now be found in England who would return a verdict of guilty against such a man as Eugene Aram, on such evidence as was offered against him.

The whole affair is enveloped in mystery; and it will now remain so:—the truth will never be unfolded—but is it not possible, after all, that Eugene Aram—poor unfortunate Eugene Aram—fell a victim to a vile conspiracy, got up by a set of designing unprincipled villains, with whom in the unsuspecting simplicity of his heart, he had occasionally associated?

TO THE

REVEREND MR. COLLINS,

VICAR OF KNARESBROUGH.

REV. SIR,*

I always believed any relation of my life, of no manner of importance or service to the public; and, I never had either any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, (which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now) by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantage of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Netherdale, [in the West Riding of Yorkshire,] in 1704.† My mater-

* The Rev. Thomas Collins was Vicar of Knaresbrough from 1735 till 1788.

† The following extracts from the register of the chapelry of Middlesmoor, in Netherdale, have been obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, the present worthy curate.

"*Ramsgill.* 1704. Eugenius Aram, son of Peter Aram, baptized the "second of October."—The name of his mother is not mentioned.

"*Loftus.* 1731. Ugenius Aram and Anna Spence married, May 4th, "after banns thrice published."

nal relations had been substantial and reputable in that dale, for a great many generations. My father* was of Nottinghamshire, a gardener, of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draftsman. He served the Right Rev. the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton,† with great approbation; which occasioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of a gardener, with much credit to himself and satisfaction to that family, for above thirty years. Upon the decease of that Baronet,‡ he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, Bart., where he died; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally British.—Their surname is local; for they were formerly lords of the town of Eryam, or Aryam, [now called Eryholme,]

" *Loftus.* 1731-2. Anna, daughter of Eugenius Aram, baptized January " 23d."

These are all the entries that appear. The leaves containing the baptisms between 1732 and 1735, are missing: probably Eugene Aram's other children were born at Knaresbrough, where they would of course be registered.

* Peter, the father of Eugene Aram, was a man of considerable literary talent, he wrote a poem " *On the surprising beauties of Studley* " *Park;*" and " *a Description of the venerable Ruins of Fountain's* " *Abbey,*"—both which may be seen in Gent's *History of Ripon*, 8vo., 1734.

† Dr. Henry Compton was Bishop of London from 1675 till 1713.

‡ Sir Edward Blackett succeeded his father Sir William in 1680, and died April 23rd, 1718.

on the southern banks of the Tees, [in Yorkshire,] and opposite to Sockburn, in the Bishopric [of Durham] ; and appear in the records of St. Mary's, at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors [both] to that abbey, [and to the priory of Bridlington.]* They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts, and were settled, under the fee of the Lords Mowbray, in Nottinghamshire, at Aram or Averam-Park, in the neighbourhood of Newark-upon-Trent; where they were possessed of no less than three knight's fees, in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the [Lexingtons, and from them to the Suttons, created] Lords Lexington, of Aram. While the name existed here, some of them were high-sheriffs of this county;† and one was professor of divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last

* Malger de Eryam, and Galfrid his son, gave half a carucate of land in Rigton near Wetherby, to the Priory of Bridlington.

Burton's Monast. Ebor. pa. 239.

Alice daughter of Simon de Eryam, gave a rent charge of half a mark, out of two oxgangs of land in Burton-fleming near Hunmanby, to the Priory of Nostell, near Pontefract. Burton, pa. 304.

Stephen de Eryam occurs as witness to a grant from Ernald de Montbegon to the Priory of Bridlington, of one moiety of the church of Beeford in Holderness. Burton, pa. 215. Note.

Sir William de Eryam, Knight, by his will proved 2nd April 1347, directed his corpse to be buried in the Priory of Bridlington.

Burton, pa. 250.

† Sir William de Eryam, Knight, was High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, 5 Rich. II. A. D. 1381-2.

of the chiefs of this family was Thomas Aram, Esq., sometime of Gray's-Inn, and one of the commissioners of the salt-office, under the late Queen Ann. He married [Geneveive], one of the [three daughters and] coheiresses of Sir Henry Coningsby, Knight,* of North Mims, in Hertfordshire. His seat, which was his own estate, was at the Wild, near Shenley, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be considered rather as ostentatious than pertinent. But the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to Skelton, near Newby; and thence, at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school: where I was made capable of reading the Testament, *which was all I ever was taught*, except a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the Rev. Mr. Alcock, of Burnsal.

After this, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father, at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was here my propensity to literature first appeared: for, being always of a solitary disposition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all

* See Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. pa. 313. Edit. 1756.

the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time, was engaged in the mathematics: I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a great number of books in most branches, *Kersey's Algebra*, *Leybourn's Cursus Mathematicus*, *Ward's Young Mathematician's Guide*, *Harris's Algebra*, &c. and a great many more. But, these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had studied before; I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination, by Mr. Christopher Blackett,* qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his accompting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small-pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near upon a journey to London, which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to these brought me from Newby, I

* Christopher Blackett, fourth son of Sir Edward, before mentioned, was a merchant in London.

renewed not only my mathematical studies, but begun and prosecuted others of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: these were *poetry*, *history*, and *antiquities*, the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers and lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching.

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited into *Netherdale*, my native air, where I first engaged in a school,* and *where I married*† unfortunately enough for me: for, *the misconduct of the wife*

* At Ramsgill, the place of his birth.

† His wife Anna Spence, resided at Lofthouse, or Loftus, previous to her marriage, and several of her relations are now residing in Netherdale, some of whom are persons of property, and of respectable characters. A nephew of hers, John Spence, is still living, 89 years of age.—He says that he does not recollect that he ever saw his uncle Eugene Aram; as he (Aram) removed from this place to Knaresbrough soon after his marriage; but he well remembers hearing his father say, that once on his return from York to this place, he called to see his sister, the wife of Eugene Aram, intending to remain all night, as it was dark when he arrived at Knaresbrough. She gave him a hint, however, that something wrong was going on at her house, and wished him to proceed to Netherdale forthwith, which he accordingly did, but this was some time previous to the murder of Clark: what this "something wrong" was, does not appear.

Spence says he has heard that Aram was a thin man, and he speaks of him as having been "a wonderful person with regard to scholarship."

Another old man is still living at Lofthouse, whose father, Richard Iveson, was a pupil of Eugene Aram's, at Ramsgill; and he very well recollects hearing his father say, that Aram was a somewhat rigid disciplinarian, but "a famous scholar."

which that place afforded me, has procured me this place, this prosecution, this infamy, and this sentence.

During my continuance here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistible covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar; I selected Lily from the rest: all which I got and repeated by heart. The task of repeating it all every day, was impossible, while I attended the school, so I divided it into portions; by which method it was pronounced thrice every week: and this I performed for years.

Next I became acquainted with *Camden's Greek Grammar*, which I also repeated in the same manner, *memoriter*. Thus instructed, I entered upon the *Latin classics:* whose allurements repaid my assiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at first, hung over five lines for a whole day; and never, in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, that I did not, or thought I did not, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the Latin classics, historians, and poets, I went through the *Greek Testament;* first parsing every word as I proceeded; next I ventured upon *Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides,* and *all the Greek tragedians:* A tedious labour was this; but, my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely; because

it threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend William Norton, Esq., came for me from Knaresbrough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither; and accordingly I repaired thither, in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there. Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of the *Hebrew;* and with indefatigable diligence. I had *Buxtorff's Grammar;* but that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at least in my opinion at that time, I collected no less than eight or ten different Hebrew grammars; and here, one very often supplied the omissions of others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the *Bible* in the original, and read the whole *Pentateuch*, with an intention to go through the whole of it, which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18th, 1745, I went again to London. Here I agreed to teach the Latin and writing for the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly, which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me French; where I observed the pronunciation the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never before known a word of it. But this, my continued application every night, or other opportunity, overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of French. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Some time after this, I went to Hayes, in Middlesex, in the capacity of a writing-master, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead; and staid after that, with a worthy and reverend gentleman.* I continued here between three and four years.

I succeeded to several other places in the South of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the Acts of Parliament, to be registered in Chancery, and after went down to the free-school, at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresbrough to this period, is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of *history and antiquities, heraldry and botany*, in the last of which I was very agreeably entertained, there being so extensive a display of nature. I well knew *Tournefort, Ray, Miller, Linnæus*, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden, at Chelsea; and traced pleasure through a thousand fields. At last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this, I ventured upon the *Chaldee* and *Arabic;* and, with a design to understand them, supplied

* The Rev. Anthony Hinton. Mr. Hinton said, that, when Aram was with him, he had frequently observed him, when walking in the garden, to stoop down and carefully remove a snail or worm out of the path, to prevent its being destroyed, hoping (as Mr. Hinton afterwards supposed) to atone for the murder he had perpetrated, by showing mercy to every animal and insect. But the fact is, that there are several anecdotes to shew that he was equally humane before the crime was committed. Such are the strange contradictions of the human heart.

myself with the grammars of *Erpenius*, *Chappelow*, and others: but had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic; the Chaldee I found easy enough, because of its connexion with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the *Celtic*, as far as possible, in all its dialects; began collections, and made comparisons between that, the *English*, the *Latin*, the *Greek*, and even the *Hebrew*. I had made notes, and compared *above three thousand words* together, and found such a surprising affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed through the whole of all these languages, and form *a comparative Lexicon*, which I fondly hoped would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the Latins, and the Greeks, before concealed and unobserved. This, or something like it, was the design of a clergyman of great erudition, in Scotland; but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that *all the plate of Knaresbrough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession;* as for me, I had nothing at all. My wife knows that *Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches at my house, from Clark's own hand;* and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon,

Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows that Terry's wife had some velvet; and, if she will, can testify it: she deserves not the regard of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence wherein he said I threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant? I must needs observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said he went home from Clark; whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

Eugene Aram submitted to his sentence with all that stoicism which was the characteristic of his life: The morning after he was condemned, he was visited by two clergymen, (who had a licence from the Judge to attend him) and in the course of conversation he told them "*He suspected Clark of having an unlawful* "*commerce with his wife;*" "*But supposing that had* "*been the case, had you a right to murder the man?*" was then asked—to which he replied—"*Sir, I had* "*as much right to do so, as George the First had to* "*do it, for the same reason, to Count Koningsmark.*"*

* Charles John, Count Koningsmark, was born at Dresden, in Saxony, in 1655. He had served in the army both in France and Italy before he came to England, where his handsome person and genteel address soon

After this, "*Pray*," says Aram, "*what became of* "*Clark's body, if Houseman went home (as he said*

made him acceptable to the ladies. He sought in marriage the Lady Elizabeth, the only surviving daughter and sole heiress of Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland of the ancient line of the Percies, a family equally famous for their valour, their turbulence, and their immense possessions. This lady was born Jan. 26th, 1666-7, and was thrice married and twice a widow before she was sixteen. She was little more than three years old at her father's death, in May, 1670; and, having been educated by her grandmother, the old Countess of Northumberland, was, about the latter end of the year 1679, married, or rather affianced, to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, only son and heir of Henry Cavendish, the 2nd Duke of Newcastle, of that family, but he died before consummation, Nov. 1st, 1680, in the fourteenth year of his age.—She was *secondly* married, or contracted, to Thomas Thynne, Esq., of Longleat, in Wiltshire, who was assassinated on Sunday, Feb. 12th, 1681-2, as he was riding through Pall-Mall, in his coach, leaving the young lady a second time an unbedded widow. The assassins were apprehended, convicted, and executed; being foreigners hired by Count Koningsmark abovementioned, who had entertained hopes of succeeding with this young heiress if he could remove Mr. Thynne out of the way:—But in this he was mistaken, for, though he himself escaped the gallows, he reaped no advantage from his murderous exploit, as on the 30th of May following, this wealthy prize suffered herself to be a *third* time carried off in triumph by Charles Seymour Duke of Somerset, by whom she had thirteen children.

The infamous Koningsmark quitted England soon after Mr. Thynne's death, and after a long series of amours in the courts abroad, attended with various success, he was at length *cut to pieces* in the palace at Herenhausen, in Hanover, *in the presence of the young Duke*, afterwards GEORGE I., who surprised him in a private apartment with his consort, Sophia-Dorothea, daughter of the Duke of Zell. This unfortunate lady was tricked into the fatal interview, which deprived her of her liberty (for she was ever afterwards confined to her apartments, and died a prisoner,)

" *upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall ?*" One of the clergymen replied, " *I'll tell you what be-* " *came of it, you and Houseman dragged it into the* " *cave, stripped and buried it there; brought away* " *his clothes and burnt them at your house.*" He was asked *whether Houseman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife,* for fear she should discover the business they had been about—he hastily replied, " *He* " *did, and pressed me several times to do it !*"

This was the substance of what passed with Aram, the morning after he was condemned; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed that every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed; but he prevented any further discovery, by an attempt upon his own life. When he was called from his bed to have his irons taken off, he excused himself

by the artifices of her governess, and betrayed by the revengeful vigilance of Melusina Schulenberg, her husband's kept mistress, afterwards known as " the high, puissant, and most noble Princess, Erengard-Melusina, Princess of Eberstein, Duchess of Kendal and Munster, Marchioness and Countess of Dungannon, Countess of Feversham, and Baroness of Schulenberg, Dundalk, and Glastonbury."—This pensioned and titled concubine died May 10th, 1743, at a very advanced age, leaving, by George I. a daughter, Melusina, who, in 1722, was created " Baroness of Aldborough, and Countess of Walsingham ;" her Ladyship married Philip Dormer Stanhope, the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, and died in 1776, without issue.

The sister of Count Koningsmark, a very beautiful woman, was mistress to Augustus II., King of Poland, by whom she was mother of the famous Marshal Saxe.

from rising, alleging that he was very weak and ill. On examination, his arm appeared bloody; proper assistance being called, it was found that he had attempted to commit suicide, by cutting his arm in two places with a razor. By proper applications he was partly brought to himself, and though very weak, was conducted to Tyburn; where, being asked *if he had anything to say*, he answered, *No.* Immediately after, he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knaresbrough forest, and hung in chains, pursuant to his sentence.

On his table in the cell, was found a paper, containing the following reasons for the attempt at suicide:—

" What am I better than my fathers? To die is na-
" tural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this, I fear
" no more to die, than I did to be born. But the man-
" ner of it is something which should, in my opinion,
" be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both
" these points. Certainly nobody has a better right to
" dispose of a man's life than himself; and he, not
" others, should determine how. As for any indigni-
" ties offered to my body, or silly reflections on my
" faith and morals, they are—as they always were—
" things indifferent to me. I think—(though contrary
" to the common way of thinking,)—I wrong no man
" by this, and *I hope it is not offensive to that Eter-*
" *nal Being that formed me and the world:* And, as
" by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably
" offended. *I solicitously recommend myself to the*
" *Eternal and Almighty Being, the God of Nature,*

" *if I have done amiss.* But perhaps I have not; and " I hope this thing will never be imputed to me. " *Though I am now stained by malevolence, and suf-* " *fer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemish-* " *ed. My life was not polluted, my morals were irre-* " *proachable, and my opinions were orthodox.*

" I slept soundly till three o'clock, awoke, and then " wrote these lines :—

" Come pleasing rest ! eternal slumber, fall,
" Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all ;
" Calm and compos'd, my soul her journey takes,
" No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches !
" Adieu, thou sun ! all bright, like her arise,
" Adieu, fair friends ! and all that's good and wise."

These lines were found with the preceding ones, and were supposed to be written by Eugene Aram, immediately before he cut himself with the razor.

His daughter, Sally Aram, was residing with her father at Lynn, when he was arrested; after which she went to London, where she called upon a York bookseller, who happened to be there at that time, and told him she was in distress, and hoped he would be so good as make her a present out of the profits which had arisen from the publication of her father's Trial, &c.; and added, she would not long struggle with difficulties, for if she could not meet with a comfortable situation, she was determined to throw herself into the Canal, in St. James's Park. In a letter she wrote to an

acquaintance at Knaresbrough, she said, "*As to my "father, he is now in Elysium, enjoying the compa- "ny of Virgil and Homer, with the rest of the cele- "brated Poets of antiquity.*"

She afterwards married an Inn-keeper, whose house stood on the Surrey side of Westminster-bridge, where the Editor saw and conversed with her, about the year 1767, at which time she had two or three children, the eldest of which might be about five years old. *They had been educated by their mother, and told us the names of the different utensils in the room, both in the Latin and Greek languages.*

Eugene Aram had two other daughters besides Sally, and two sons; one of whom, Joseph, was a saddler, and resided at Green-Hammerton, where he acquired some property, which his son, (Matthias,) who succeeded him, sold, and retired to America with his family.

Houseman, on his return to Knaresbrough, met with a very unwelcome reception—a Mob assembled and threatened to pull down his house, but were prevented by the persuasions of Mr. Shepherd, whose house and warehouse were close adjoining. However they carried him about the streets in effigy, which was afterwards knocked on the head with a pick-axe, and then hanged and burnt. He never after appeared in public, but employed himself privately till his death, in dressing flax; he lived about 10 years after the death of his victim, the ill-fated Eugene Aram;—after his decease, his remains were removed in the night, and interred at Marton, near Boroughbridge.

MISCELLANIES

WRITTEN BY

EUGENE ARAM,

WHILE

A PRISONER IN YORK CASTLE.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

TO THE REV. MR. COLLINS, VICAR OF KNARESBROUGH.

REVEREND SIR,

I KNOW not, loaded with public odium as I am, and charged with a crime, nay a complication of crimes, all of which I detest, whether I ought to be solicitous to procure any thing in support of life, particularly under such aggravated circumstances, wherein it is better to die than to live; but the propensities of nature are strong, her calls frequent and importunate, and few but have, or think they have, some interest to some social connexions or other, not easily to be dispensed with.—Admonished by these, but most by the generous concern

I know you bear for humanity, however distressed, and wherever situated, I venture to ask, and that with reluctance enough, that you would charitably intercede for something, how and to whom you think proper, whereby to render the remains of being a little more supportable, a little less uneasy, if you conceive it not inconsistent with your convenience and character, to serve

Your most humble Servant,

E. ARAM.

AUGUST 27TH, 1758.

Mr. Collins shewed the above to some friends, when five pounds were collected and sent to him.

LETTER II.

GOOD SIR,

IF you can procure, and at the same time excuse the trouble, the Monasticon Eboracense, a Catullus, and any one Welsh Dictionary, they will be very acceptable, divert the tediousness of these hours, and alleviate a few of the many dissatisfactions of this place; for,

Good Sir,

Your most obedient,

Your most obliged Servant,

E. ARAM.

For

Mr. Wallace.

LETTER III.

SIR,

THE very humble opinion I ever entertained of any thing I wrote, prevented me retaining any copies. There remains an Elegy on Sir John Armytage, who fell at St. Cas: if I can possibly recover it, it shall come accompanied with a transcript of some of the papers you procured, and the rest shall follow as speedily as I can write them, which indeed, if you had not had the curiosity to desire, I could not have had the assurance to offer. Scarce believing I, who was hardly taught to read, have any abilities to write.

I am Sir,
With much gratitude for your kindness,
And with all possible respect,
Your most humble, most obliged Servant,
E. ARAM.

LETTER IV.

YORK, JUNE 2, 1759.

SIR,

To satisfy my promise and your request, I have transcribed part of the papers, and propose copying, and transmitting to you the remainder of them next week, or as early as I can. I am only able to employ half of my time in this, but wish I could dispose of all my time that way, either for your amusement or your service.—

I have no materials for my purpose by me: not so much as book, paper, or MS. of any kind; so that it is easy to conceive under what disadvantages I write. Memory is all I have to trust to; and that cannot be capacious of all I want.

You were pleased to promise me some assistance in my affair; in hopes of which, I have subjoined the only question, I think of any importance to me, and beg satisfaction in it, by what way you judge best. I am, Sir, (under great obligations, and with all possible respect)

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,
E. ARAM.

Q. Whether Houseman, who, after his being apprehended and in custody, and commitment, upon a charge of murder, accused me of that fact, can possibly be admitted evidence for the King against me, as he says his counsel tells him he may: the fact with which he impeaches me being fourteen years ago, and there being nothing against me but what he pretends to say? Whether is the power of admitting evidence for the King, vested in the Judge, or King's counsel, or both?

LETTER V.

SIR,

I THANK you much for your kind concern for me: and which you have expressed so well. Mr. Wharton begged my defence of yesterday, and there is no other but that, which only is genuine. If you think it will be either pleasure or advantage to you, I will, upon the

least intimation, speak to Mr. Wharton, that he suffer you to copy it. As to my life, it is of no importance to the public, nor would it be of service to any body; nor does any one know much about it. Nor, if it was material to write it, have I time. But, I am certain it was spent much more commendably than that of any one of my enemies.

I have three books of yours, and thank you for the amusement some of them have afforded me; and wish you could send for them, it not being in my power to get them to you. Yet, Sir, if any general particulars of my life will oblige you, you have nothing to do but to let me know.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

E. ARAM.

SATURDAY, 10 O'CLOCK,
AUGUST 4, 1759.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

I HAD both your favours, for which I thank you: you have inclosed what I thought proper to say, concerning myself, family, and affair. I promised it to the Rev. Mr. Collins. If you choose to order any of your people to transcribe it, you may keep this, and I will subscribe my name to such transcript. Do which you please. I thank you again and again. I write in great

haste, as I doubt appears, but you will pardon inaccuracies. I should be very glad to see you to morrow, if it can be allowed: and am

Your most obliged humble Servant,

E. ARAM.

August 4, 1759.

AN

ESSAY

TOWARDS

A LEXICON,

UPON AN

Entirely New Plan.

To attempt the work of a Lexicon, and at a time too, when so many, and those so considerable, have already appeared, valuable for the excellence of their composition, and respectable for the authority of their authors, may possibly be looked upon as unnecessary, if not altogether a supernumerary labour. How far such an opinion may be just, or premature, will be better elucidated by a very cursory perusal of, and a little deliberation upon, the subsequent plan. And this, whatever appearances of novelty it may be attended with, however strongly the current of general opinion opposes it, is neither so recent, nor so foreign to the service of letters, as by some may be imagined.

Before I open the plan I have to offer to the literati, and upon which the superstructure is intended to be

built, it perhaps may not be improper here to throw out *a few preliminary reflections*, which have occurred to me in the course of my reading, a part of which are these that follow.

All our lexicographers, a very few excepted, for aught I have adverted to, have been long employed, and have generally contented themselves too, within the limits of a very narrow field. They seem to have looked little farther than the facilitating for youth the attainment of the Latin and Greek languages, and almost universally consider the *former* as only derived from the *latter*. These two single points seem to have confined their whole view, possessed their whole attention, and engrossed all their industry.

Here and there, indeed, and in a few pieces of this kind, one sees interspersed, derivations of the English from the Latin, Greek, &c., inferred from a conformity of orthography, sound, and signification, and all these are very true. But, *whence* this relation, this consonancy arose,—*why* it has continued from age to age to us,—has floated on the stream of time through so long a series of changes, and passed to such a distance of place,—*how* ancient words have survived conquests, the migrations of people, and the several coalitions of nations and colonies, notwithstanding the fluctuating condition of language in its own nature,—they have neither observed with diligence, nor explained with accuracy.

The various etymologists that have fallen into my hands, and detained my eye, have not, indeed, been

mistaken in the comparisons they have made, or in the uniformity they have observed, between the Latin and Greek, and between both those languages and our own; but then, their instances have been but short and few, and they have failed in accounting for this uniformity; they have indeed sufficiently evinced a similarity, but produced no reason for it. It is not to be thought of, much less concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the relics of the Roman settlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here; no, this resemblance was coeval with the primary inhabitants of this island; and the accession of other colonies did not obliterate, but confirm this resemblance, and also brought in an increase, an accession of other words, from the same original, and consequently bearing the same conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Irish, in numberless instances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both possessed this consimilarity long ago, before Julius Cæsar, and the Roman invasion. I know not but the Latin was more different from itself, in the succession of six continued centuries, than the Welsh and Irish, at this time, from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew,—not to mention others, gentlemen of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition,—Dr. Davies* may be consulted,

* John Davies, D. D., a learned Welch divine, well versed in the history and language of his country, was a native of Denbighshire, and was

and the learned Sheringham,* who have both exhibited a long and curious specimen of Greek and Cambrian

educated by William Morgan, afterwards successively Bishop of Llandaff and of St. Asaph. In 1589 he became a student in Jesus College, Oxford; and in the year 1616 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Divinity. His character was held in high estimation by the learned, on account of the proficiency he had made in the Greek and Hebrew languages, the exactness of his critical talents, and his intimate acquaintance with ancient writings, and curious and rare authors. He died in 1644.

His works are:—*Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum*, 1632, in folio; with which is printed *Dictionarium Latino-Britannicum*, left in an unfinished state by Dr. Thomas Williams, a physician, in 1600, and completed by Dr. Davies:—*Adagia Britannica*; and *Authorum Britannicorum Nomina et quando floruerunt*; both printed at the end of the Dictionary abovementioned;—and *Adagiorum Britannicorum Specimen*, which is preserved among the MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Dr. Davies also assisted William Morgan and Richard Parry, successively Bishops of St. Asaph, in making a Welch version of the Bible, which was published in 1620.

See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. II. col. 588. 4to. Edit.

* Robert Sheringham was born in Norfolk, in 1602, he was educated at Cambridge, and was Fellow of Gonville and Caius College in that University:—He was in exile on account of his attachment to the cause of Charles I., during the time of Oliver Cromwell's being in power. He then resided chiefly at Rotterdam, and subsisted by teaching the Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental languages. After the return of Charles II. in 1660, he was restored to his Fellowship, and was esteemed a most excellent Linguist, being profoundly skilled in the Oriental and Gothic languages, and admirably versed in the original antiquities of the English nation, as fully appears in his Book *De Anglorum Gentis Origine, Disceptatio*, &c. printed at Cambridge, in 1670, in a large 8vo. volume; which is the work referred to by Eugene Aram. He died of an apoplectic fit, which

words so exactly correspondent in sound and sense, or at least so visibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet questioned, much less disputed their alliance.

This similitude subsisting in common among the Irish, Cambrian, Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, as it has not escaped the notice, and animadversions of the learned, so their surprise has generally increased with their researches, and considerations about it; new circumstances of agreement perpetually arising. * A great many gentlemen conversant in antiquities, and pleased with literary amusements of this kind, have ascribed these palpable connexions to conquest, or to commerce; they have supposed, that the intercourse which, on the latter account, anciently subsisted between the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Britons, (see Bochart, Huet, &c.*) occasioned this very remarkable community be-

caused him to fall on the fire, in his chamber in Caius College, in the winter of 1677.

See Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. I. col. 445. 4to. Edit.

* Samuel Bochart, a French Protestant, and a learned Etymologist, was born at Rouen, in 1599, and died suddenly, while speaking, in the Academy at Caen, in 1667. He wrote *Phaleg et Canaan; seu Geographia sacra*, Fol. 1646. In this work, among other things, he treats "*Of the "dispersion of mankind, occasioned by the confusion of tongues;*"—and "*Of the Colonies and Language of the Phœnicians:*"—These are what Eugene Aram refers to. Bochart was also the author of another work, entitled "*Hierozoicon, or an account of the Animals mentioned in Scrip-"ture,*" which was printed at London, in 1675, in Folio; and again at Leipsic, with Notes by Rosenmiiller, in 3 vols. 4to. 1793-96.

Peter Daniel Huet, one of the most accomplished scholars of his time,

tween their languages. Indeed, this accident of commerce must needs have had its influence, but then this influence must have been but weak and partial, not prevalent and extensive. Commerce has made, and always will make, continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words; yet words of this kind, and at that time, would hardly extend a great way; they would only affect the maritime parts, and those places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any considerable impression upon the whole body of any language.

But, even supposing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet they could never penetrate into the interior parts of it, into recesses remote from the sea; the inhabitants being strangers to all correspondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natal soil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itself,* whither foreigners, especially at the

was born at Caen, in Normandy, in 1630, and died in 1721:—He was Bishop of Soissons, afterwards of Avranches, and was the author of numerous publications, all of them giving proofs of the most extensive and varied erudition. In 1718, the Abbe Tilladet published a Selection from Huet's writings, under the title of "*Dissertations sur diverses matieres de la Religion et de la Philologie;*" but the work referred to by Eugene Aram, is doubtless his "*Demonstratio Evangelica,*" printed at Paris in 1679, and again in 1690, in 1 vol. Folio.

* Yes, and Sanscrit too, as is clearly proved by Lieut. Col. Vans Ken-

distance of more than twice ten centuries, can scarcely be supposed to have come. There could have been but few invitations to it then, and perhaps there are not many now.

Since, then, I have taken notice of this almost community of language, observable between the Greek and the Celtic, in some dialect of it or other; and have attempted to show it could scarcely be imported, in the manner so generally believed, it seems incumbent upon me to offer a more probable conjecture,—if it is a conjecture,—*how it has taken place*, which is the subject of the following dissertation.

I must here intreat such candid literary gentlemen as may honour these sketches with a perusal, to reflect a moment, that *I have neither books, papers, nor any other material to assist me—every quotation, and all I produce, must be entirely derived from memory alone, and I beg them to make some generous allowances for the inaccuracies I fall into—unavoidable in this situation.*

After what has been produced as prefatory, it is now time, if it may not be thought it was so before, to exhibit the plan I mentioned, not attempted in confidence of

nedy, in his learned "*Researches into the origin and affinity of the "principal languages of Asia and Europe,*" 4to. 1828.—See the *List of Sanscrit words* which are found *in the Greek, Latin, Persian, German, and English Languages*, given in Part 2, of that very ingenious work, pp. 277—312.—See also a List of Greek and English words, that are identical, in Camden's *Remains*, pp. 32, 33. 5th Edit. 1637.

my own, but to excite superior abilities to think farther, and for the farther illustration and service of letters, and submitted with the greatest deference to the learned, and with the extremest diffidence of myself.

It is then this—That the ancient Celtæ, by the numberless vestiges left behind them, in Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the western parts of Europe, appear to have been, if not the aborigines, at least their successors, and masters, in Gaul, Britain, and the west;—that their language, however obsolete, however mutilated, is at this day discernible in all those places which that victorious people conquered and retained:—that it has extended itself far and wide, visibly appearing in the ancient Greek, Latin, and English, of all which it included a very considerable part; and, indeed, it still unquestionably, forms a most important ingredient in all the languages of Europe;—it emerges in the names of springs, torrents, rivers, woods, hills, plains, lakes, seas, mountains, towns, cities, and innumerable other local appellatives of very remote antiquity, many of which have never, that I know of, been accounted for:—that it is even now partially considered as a language, in some of its dialects,—in the declining remains of it, at least,—still dispersed among the Irish, in Armorica, or Basse-Bretagne, in St. Kilda, in Cantabria, or Biscay, and in the mountains of Wales;—that much of it is still extant in the works of our earlier poets and historians; and much is yet living upon the tongues of multitudes *(inter Rura Brigantum)* in Cumberland, &c. unknown or unobserved, as, I hope, the succeeding ex-

ercises will make apparent;—that the original of both the Latin and the Greek is, in a great measure, Celtic;—that same Celtic, which, polished by Greece, and refined by Rome,—only with dialectic variation,—flowed from the lips of Virgil, and thundered from the mouth of Homer.

The design, then, of all this, is to exhibit and illustrate these connexions.

After having proceeded thus far, and so often reiterated *Celtæ* and *Celtic*, it is high time to come to an explanation of these words, and enumerate the people to whom they have been usually applied. The *Celtæ*, then, were confessedly *Scythians* or *Tatars*, the posterity of *Gomer*, [the grandson of Noah;*] and, agreeably to the name of their patriarch, called themselves, in their own language, *Cimmeri*, *Cummeri*, or contractedly *Cimbri;* and the Welch, to this day, call themselves *Cummeri*, whence *Cumberland*, pointing out very lucidly their extraction by their name.—But, what becomes of *Celtæ* in all this? And why were these *Cimmeri* denominated *Celtæ?*—As they were Tatars or Scythians, and both their name, country, and

* See Pezron, *Antiq. de la Nation et de la Langue des Celtes*, 12mo. Paris, 1703;—or the English translation by Jones, 8vo. London, 1706—an excellent but scarce work:—*Ancient Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 375, and Vol. IV. p. 471, 8vo. Edit.—Davies's *Celtic Researches*, 8vo. 1794.—Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*. Introd. p. 5. 8vo. Edinb. 1814;—and Ritson's *Memoirs of the Celts, or Gauls*,—with a *Dictionary of Celtic Words*, and a *Bibliotheca Celtica;* 8vo. London, 1827.

original at first unknown: and, it being observed, by the people they invaded, that they were all or mostly horsemen, and of great celerity, the Greeks, almost the only historians of the early ages, very naturally distinguished these *Cimmerians*, or *Gomerians*, by the name of *Keletes*, *Celtæ*, i. e., *light horsemen*. They made several very terrible irruptions into the fairest parts of Asia, and thence into Europe and back again, like a retiring tide, under the conduct of Brennus, to the number of 150,000. Callimachus relates, that the origin of the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was owing to a little statue of that goddess, which these *Cimmerians* erected in the hollow of a tree, while their armies and depredations, under Ligdamis their captain, wasted Asia. Their migrations were frequent and noted: For, obliged by real or imaginary necessity, incited by avarice, or stimulated only by a spirit of war, they became often vexatious to one another, and always formidable to their neighbours. They also, in another prodigious swarm, poured out of Tatary, about 950 years after the flood; and made another dreadful irruption, under Alcon, their leader, into the Greater Armenia, and in a little space made themselves masters of Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and the greater part of the Lesser Asia, where, as in several other countries, continued a great many memorials of their name and conquests. But Phrygia seems to have been their principal residence, and there they have been most distinguished.

They had various appellations imposed upon them, as *Gigantes*, and *Titanes*, both signifying sprung from

the earth: in this, referring to the obscurity of their origin. Of this eminent people was Saturn, he himself was a *Cimmerian*, and passed, one may believe, not unattended into Italy, upon some disagreement with Jupiter, his son. The body of these *Cimmerians* or *Celtæ*, which is but an adventitious name, the time not ascertained, proceeded far into Europe, even into Britain, and its islands, &c. And, that the name of *Cimmeri* or *Cimori*, was also remembered in Gaul, as well as Britain, is clear; for the soldier who was sent for the execution of Caius Marius* the consul, is by some historians, called *a Gaul*, by others *a Cimber*, which two names, as is evident from hence, were esteemed synonymous, and indifferently applied to the same person.—There is also the *Cimbric-Chersonese*,† &c., but these *Cimmerians* scarcely advanced together, and at once, but gradually, and time after time, established their settlements, where and as they could. Their government was the oldest known, *i. e.*, it was *patriarchal:* and so it remained in Scotland till within our memories. Afterwards, there was an absolute coalition, in many nations of this people and their language, with those they conquered, and with the colonies from *Greece, Tyre, Carthage*, &c., and theirs, and all of them, awhile after this incorporation, are found in history under the common name of *Celtæ*. The very same accident happened between the Saxons and the Britons; and also

* See his Life in Plutarch. Vol. III. Langhorn's Edit.

† Now called *Jutland*, in Denmark.

between the Scots and Picts in the north. It can scarcely be imagined that the Saxons destroyed all the Britons that escaped not into Wales; or, that the Scots extinguished all the race of the Picts, that did not cross the seas. No; 'tis unlikely; 'tis impossible; these two nations united with the two subdued, and became one people, under the name of the most predominant. So it was with the *Celtæ*, when one of themselves, or upon their incorporation with the conquered, they became populous and powerful, especially in Greece, their principal seat. Colony peopled colony still farther and farther, till they with the language they brought along with them from the east and Greece, &c., arrived in and about Britain, and whither else we can fix no bounds; as waves departing from one centre, swell with a wider and a wider circumference, wave impelling wave, till at last these circles disappear.

The Greeks, the posterity of Javan, as is generally allowed, and as is plain from their name Ιαων, and historical evidence, and by the connexions their language has with the Hebrew and Phœnician, &c., arrived at first from Asia, and colony after colony peopled Peloponnesus, the islands of the Archipelago, and those of the Mediterranean, and there continued, with no considerable variation of language but what was made by time, and what is incident to all, till this inundation of these *Cimmerians*, which they called *Celtæ*. Particular appellations, indeed, were annexed to their tribes, but from this difference of names

in those tribes, we must not suspect them to be of different extraction; by no means, they were all but portions of the same vast body. Their dominions, after their union with the original Greeks, became very extensive; and, all the north-west parts of Europe were from them called, *Celto-Scythia.*

Bodin,* 'tis true, has affirmed that the name of Celtica was peculiar to Gaul; but, he is a writer of very inconsiderable authority, and is learnedly confuted by *Cluverius*,† who, in his *Germania Antiqua*, I think in his fourth chapter, shows Celtica included Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain: and Mr. Irvine,‡ a

* John Bodin, a native of Angers, (born in 1530, and died in 1596,) a man of considerable note in France, and author of several publications, is here meant:—probably his "*Methodus ad facilem Historiarum cognitionem*," printed at Paris in 1566, in 4to., is the work here referred to.

† Philip Cluver, an eminent Geographer, was born at Dantzic in 1580:—He was author of "*Germania Antiqua*," Folio, Leyden, 1616 and 1631;—"*Sicilia Antiqua, Sardinia et Corsica*," Folio, Leyden, 1619;—"*Italia Antiqua*," 2 vols. Folio, Leyden, 1624;—"*Introductio in Universam Geographiam, tam veterem quam novam*," &c. He died at Leyden in 1623.

‡ Dr. Christopher Irvine, a learned Scotsman, published "*Index Locorum, nominum propriorum, gentilitium, vocumque difficiliorum, quæ in Latinis Scotorum Historiis occurrunt*," 8vo., Edinb. 1664.

This work is mentioned by Bishop Nicholson in his Scotch Historical Library, as deserving a new Impression, which it seems to have had in "Historiæ Scoticæ nomenclatura Latino-vernacula: multis flosculis, ex antiquis albinorum monumentis, et lingua Galeciorum prisca excerptis, adspersa. In gratiam eorum, qui Scotorum nomen, et veritatis numen colunt, Christophorus Irvinus, abs Bon-Bosco, auspice summo numine,

Scots gentleman of great abilities, asserts, that the colonies of the *Celtæ* also covered *Italy, the Alps, Thessaly*, &c., and all this I am induced to believe may be satisfactorily proved, if by nothing else, yet by the very great consimilarity in their languages, when carefully considered in comparison with one another, especially in many old local appellatives, which have certainly existed before commerce or intercourse could possibly be concerned in imposing them. But, because I am unwilling to convert what was only meant as prefatory, into a Lexicon, I must supersede the proofs of this, or what I take to be such, till I come to treat of the words themselves. Should this be doubted or contested, and any objections, and those not apparently immaterial, arise, or be imagined to arise, in opposition to any particular that has been advanced, I humbly apprehend that an accurate examination into this plan, will never contradict, but support every observation contained in these papers. But what will appear most decisive upon this head, is, that unquestionable remains of their language exist at this day, in countries where their name is entirely forgotten; and, what is yet more convincing, though probably unsuspected, is, that a very great number of topical names, &c., are continually occurring where the *Celtæ* have penetrated, and been established from time immemorial, as in the English, the

concinnavit; et Edinbruchii Cal. Jan. 1682 imprimi curavit 8vo." A new edition appeared at Edinburgh, so lately as 1819, in crown 8vo.

Latin, and the Greek, &c., which can never be investigated from any other original.

Add to this, that wherever history fails in accounting for the extraction of any people, or where it is manifestly mistaken, how can this extraction be more rationally inferred and determined, or that mistake rectified, than from the analogy of languages? Or is not this alone sufficiently conclusive, if nothing else was left? Thus Cæsar, so conspicuous for either Minerva, and whose opinions will ever have their proper weight with the learned, asserts that the Britons were from Gaul, not so much from their vicinity to one another, as from the remarkable analogy of their tongue to the Gallic. And admit there was not a record left in the world, to prove the original of our American settlements, I would ask, if their language itself, notwithstanding many words both now, and formerly unknown in England, and adopted into it, was not sufficient to prove it? And must not a similitude as near, considering the very great distance of time, an extensive commerce, the admission of new colonies, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the natural inconstancy of languages, equally prove an alliance among those in question? The traces of the Celtic, notwithstanding the ruins consequent upon all these, have hitherto remained indelible. They almost perpetually arise in the general geography of all the west of Europe; and often in more confined and topographical descriptions. Not a county in Britain, scarce any extent of sea or land from Kent to St. Kilda,

wherein the most satisfactory evidences of this may not be found. The same congruity holds too in Gaul, Spain, Italy, &c., and a work of this kind, begun with circumspection, and conducted with regularity, could not fail of throwing great light upon all the languages concerned, and upon the obscurity of thousands of local names, and in short seems to promise fair to contribute as a lamp, to the elucidation of many dark antiquities.

The Greek and Hebrew, then, &c., observable in our language, and not unnoticed by the learned, and found in recesses, where they might be but little expected, as will be shown in the course of these remarks, were not imported by the Phœnician merchants, and Greek traders only, but entered along with the earliest colonies from the east, into Britain; after each colony had protruded others through all the intermediate continent, of which Britain probably was once a part. Not that the whole of a people entered into any long migration; I believe never. The aged, the infirm, and the youth of either sex, incapable of engaging in war, or of enduring the fatigues of travel, of surmounting the opposition of mountains, forests, and rivers, remained a feeble company behind; and certainly retained the same language their itinerant countrymen had carried with them, which sometimes was very far remote. Hence an almost identity of languages is sometimes found in places at a great distance from each other; and hence that agreement in many vocables between the Greek and the Cambrian, and Irish Celtic. Nor is there so

much inconsistence, as has been insinuated, in that immemorial tradition existent among the Welch, that they were the descendants of the Greeks. That they came with Brutus, is not only fabulous but ridiculous; but that they are of Greek extraction, perhaps is neither. The tradition is undoubtedly false, with regard to the person, Brutus; but certainly real as to the thing,—this Greek extraction. It may be objected indeed, that this is only tradition; what else could it possibly be?—Could they have history, annals, and inscriptions, before they had letters?—Was there not also a period wherein Greece herself, afterwards so illustrious for arts, was destitute and ignorant of these? Could these then be expected in Britain, so far detached from the sources whence Greece drew all her science? No: Memory, or some rugged uninscribed stone, in these obscure and early ages, was the sole register of facts, and tradition all their history.

In the subsequent specimens I have been very prolix; but, as the subject had been unattempted before, and seemed so repugnant to the general opinion, I supposed there was really some necessity for enlargement, that the connexions I had intimated might appear the more visible and striking, and leave the less uncertainty upon the mind. And I humbly conceive, that the congruity among the languages adduced here, is made as obvious as the nature of the thing is capable of, particularly regarding this distance of time, this mutation of kingdoms, times, and manners, and under such abilities as

mine. I cannot but beg pardon for some little Oriental introductions in the word BEER; I would very gladly have superseded them, had I not believed it preferable to refer to the original, and to produce the evidences together and at once, that they might possess the force of union. I am led to think, that very little deliberation upon this subject, will be required to perceive the utility of it; and but a small acquaintance with languages, to be sensible of the pertinence of the comparisons. I imagine too, that, to a moderate portion of letters and sagacity, it will soon be clear, that the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, considered and compared together, will abundantly dilucidate one another. And, perhaps the examples to be hereafter produced in support of this plan, will better evince the reasonableness of it, than whole reams employed in arguments.

EXAMPLES.*

BEAGLES.

A RACE of hounds, so named for being little : a name perfectly agreeable to the primary signification of the Celtic *pig*, i. e., *little*. The Greeks anciently used this word too, and in the sense of *little*, of which they seem to have constituted their πυγμαῖος, i. e., a *dwarf*. It still subsists among the Irish, and still in that language conveys the idea of *little ;* as Fir-*pig*, a *little man ;* Bandh-*pig*, a *little woman ; Beg*-aglach, *little fearing*. It was also common in Scotland, in the same acceptation : for one of the Hebrides is named from this cubital people *Dunie-Beg*, i. e., *a little hill*, (see Mr. Irvine) and it yet exists in Scotland in the word *phillibeg*, i. e., a *little petticoat*. And we ourselves retain it in the provincial word *peagles*, i. e., *cowslips*, a name imposed upon them of old, from the littleness of their flowers. (See the Herbals of Gerard and Parkinson.)

* These examples are, as much as possible drawn from the Irish, I industriously omitting the British, lest it should be thought, as I know it has been sometimes, that the Romans left us the words that bear any relation to the Latin, while this can never be objected to the Irish, since the Romans never set a foot in Ireland. Pardon inaccuracies too, since I have had no assistance but from memory.—E. A.

And our northern word *Peggy*, is, properly speaking, applicable to no female as a christian name, but is merely an epithet of *size*, and a word of *endearment* only.*

NID.

Nothing seems more suitable than this Celtic name for this river; which, after running a considerable way from its fountain, again enters the earth, by a wide and rocky cavern; then taking a subterraneous course of some miles, again emerges to the light, by two issues, whose waters are immediately united below. This word *Nid*, among the Celtæ, signified *under*, *below*, or *covered*; and so it does yet.† The Irish Celtæ say *Neth-shin*, i. e. *under a place*; *Nes-sene*, i. e., *a bird's nest*, (and *nead*, a *nest* simply,) where *t* is converted into *s*, as is common: so the Greek has γλῶσσα, or γλῶττα; and so the Germans of their ancient *wasser*, have made *watter*, i. e., *water*, (*vid.* Archæol.‡) This word *Nid*,

* See Whiter's *Etymologicon Universale*. Vol. III. p. 197; Skinner's *Etymologicon Onomasticon*, v. *peg*, Ang. Sax. *piga*, the *Saxon Dictionaries* of Somner, and Lye, and Ihre's *Glossary*; and the words, *beghan*, *bean*, (meaning little) in the *Cornish and English Vocabulary*, at the end of Borlace's *Antiquities of Cornwall*. Folio, Oxford, 1754.

† See Dr. Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*, page 164, 8vo. 1814; Ihre's *Glossary*, *v. ned*; and Somner's and Lye's *Dict. Sax. et Goth-Lat. v. nider*, or *nyder*.

‡ The work here referred to by Eugene Aram is the "*Archæologia* "*Britannica*; giving some account, additional to what has been hitherto "published, of the Languages, Histories, and Customs, of the original

is very widely diffused too; there is found *Nith*-isdale or *Nidd*-isdale, in Scotland; *Nid*, near Knaresbrough, the seat of Francis Trappes, Esq.; both probably named from their having been formerly hid in the depth and obscurity of woods. *Nidum* is also found in Glamorganshire; there are the rivers *Niderus*, in Norway, and *Nid* even in Poland, and *Nid* also appears as the name of a river in Greece, mentioned by Callimachus (Hymn to Jupiter) and by Pausanias (in Arcadicis)—the Grecian *Neda* rises in Arcadia, and runs into the Sinus-Cyparisseus.* It is part of the modern words, *be-neath*, *neth-er*, and *Neth-er-lands*. This *neath* was formerly written *nead*; for an epitaph, transcribed from a monumental stone at Kirklees, by Dr. Gale, has,

"Under*nead* this little steane."

Where the former part of the word, *under*, is only ex-

"Inhabitants of Great Britain, from collections and observations in Tra-
"vels through Wales, Cornwall, Basse-Bretagne, Ireland, and Scotland;
"Vol. I. containing *Glossography*, Oxford, 1707," in Folio,—the author of which was the learned Edward Lhuyd, M. A., of Jesus College, and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in Oxford.—This laborious antiquary was born at Llanvord, in South Wales, in 1670; he was employed a considerable part of his life in searching into the Welch Antiquities; his manuscript collections consist of 40 vols. in Folio, 10 in 4to., and above 100 smaller, all relating to Irish or Welch Antiquities, and chiefly in those languages. But he died in July, 1709, before he had digested them into any order, so that the 2nd volume of the Archæologia never appeared.—Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. I. pp. 165—167; and Vol. II. pa. 457.

* See D'Anville's *Ancient Geography*, p. 226. Edit. 1791, 8vo.

plicatory of the latter part *nead*. This signification of *Nid*, leads to the true and original meaning of Shakespeare's *niding*,* i. e., *a person that hides himself;* Mr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, interprets it *a coward*, but that is only its *secondary* signification, and but true sometimes, for a person does not always hide himself through fear. It appears to be the radical of the Latin *Nidus*, *nidifico*, *nidulor*, *nidificatio*, and also of the Greek νεοσσος, in the Attic νεοττὸς, pullus avium, &c.; which all know to be very well *hidden;* and, they bore this Greek name, not because they were *young*, but because they were *hidden*. So νεοσσία, or νεοττία, nidus, &c., whence our modern word *nests*.

VIR.

This word is, and that precisely enough, the Celtic *Fir;* its very great antiquity and use with the Celtæ, appears in the Irish regal proper name, Fergus I., Fergus II.; in our modern surname, Ferguson; also in the word *Firbolgs*,† (i. e., *viri Belgici)* by which the old Irish called a colony of the *Belgæ*, which settled amongst them. And of this word *Bolgs*, Cæsar, (Com.

* See this word in Ihre's *Glossary*, Tom. II. col. 250; and in Camden's Remains, pa. 35. Edit. 1637.

† See the word *Firbolg*, in the *Focloir*, or *Irish and English Vocabulary*, annexed to Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica:* and an account of the colony of the *Belgæ* here mentioned, in Keating's *Hist. of Ireland*, new Translation, by Haliday, 8vo. Dublin, 1811.

lib. I.) and the Romans, formed the Latin *Belgæ;* which, indeed, imports the same, and is the same word with the Greek Πελασγοι, either from their coming by sea, or from their vicinity to it. *Fir*, in most words, into whose composition it enters, implies something of *ability* and *strength*, as in the Irish *fertamhuill*, i. e., a man of an able body; and in the Latin, *fortis*, *virtus*, &c. Neither was it infrequent in Gaul; it composes a part of Cæsar's *Vercingetorix*, *Viridomarus*, &c. (*Cæs. Com. lib.* 7. *cap.* 3, &c.) The German Celtæ likewise used it, for it exists yet with them in the compound word *were-wolf*, i. e., *man-wolf*, (vide Verstegan.*) This *wer*, in the Latin sense of *vir*, appears also among the Anglo-Saxons; for in the Saxon Pentateuch of Ælfric the monk,† published at Oxford, is,

* Eugene Aram here refers to "*A restitution of decayed Intelligence* "*in Antiquities, concerning the most noble and renowned English Nation,*" by Richard Verstegan, first printed at Antwerp in 1605, in 4to., and again at London in 1628 and 1634 (4to.) and in 1654 and 1673, in 8vo. The reference is made to the 7th chapter, which contains *an explanation of sundry of our most ancient English words.* An Analysis of this very curious and now scarce book, may be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1811, and an account of the author, and of his other works, may be found in Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*, Vol. II. col. 392, 393, 394. 4to. Edit.—See also the word *War-wolf* in Nares's *Glossary*, 4to. 1822

† This is to be found in the following work :—"Heptateuchus, Liber "Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi, *Anglo-Saxonice.* Historiæ Judith Frag- "mentum, *Dano-Saxonice.*—Edidit nunc primum ex MSS. Codicibus "E. Thwaites, e Collegio Reginæ. Oxon. 1698," in 8vo. Ælfric was also author of a Latin-Saxon Grammar and Vocabulary, printed at the end of Somner's Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum, Folio, Oxford,

"And God made them paeꝛ-man, *wær-man*,"* i. e., male, &c. (Gen. I. 26.) The word man, *homo*, anciently, as in our modern translation of this place, included both sexes, and the Saxons prefixed paeꝛ, *wær*, to man, to determine the male sex, and *wyf* to determine the female sex; hence they wrote *wyf-man*, which, by contraction became *wy-man*, now softened down to *wo-man*.

MAGISTER.

All the explications I have seen of this word appear to me to want others; but how natural, easy, and lucid does its original appear from the Celtic *maighis*, whence the Latin *magnus* and Greek μέγας, great, and *tor*, dominus, nor has the first of these entirely left us; it remains in the northern obsolete word *mickle*,† much or great, as in *Micklegate*, a large street in York. And *meg*, in many places, is yet commonly heard, and ever ludicrously applied to *a very tall woman;* it is, also, used for *a huge stone* in an erect position. Mr. Camden, I think, in Cumber-

1659, and of several other works which are still extant in manuscript. The curious reader may find them carefully catalogued by Humfrey Wanley, in the 2d vol. of Dr. Hickes's Thesaurus.

* See *waer*, *vaer*, *ver*, or *vir*, in Dr. Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*, p. 166,—in Dr. Bernard's *Etymologicon Britannicum*, annexed to Dr. Hickes's *Instit. Gram. Anglo-Saxonicæ*, 4to. 1689;—in Lye's *Dict. Sax. et Goth-Lat.*,—and in Somner's *Dict. Sax. et Lat-Ang.*, Folio, 1659.

† From the Saxon *micla*, or *micel*, signifying *great*;—or from the Danish, *mikel*, or *mokell*, meaning the same thing:—See *Somner* and *Lye*.

land,* takes notice of a tall upright stone there, called *Long Meg*. There is also another high and upright stone near Sawley, in our own county, distinguished by this name:—And the great cannon in Scotland, taken at Mons, the Scots call *Mons-Meg*. It seems a radical used in common by many of the Celtic nations, each agreeable to its dialect. And *tor*, is the Greek and Latin τυραννος, and *tyrannus*.

BEER.

This word has been one general Oriental name for *a well* or *water*, and very probably has been transmitted, along with the earliest settlements, into Europe. It is still found in this island, both in its primary and translated signification; *i. e.*, for *water*, and for *beer*. It is read, Gen. xxix. 2, &c., וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה בְאֵר, Va yare ve hinneh *beer;* and in the Chaldee, וַחֲזָא וְהָא בֵּירָא, Va chaza ve ha *bera;* i. e., "He looked, and behold "*a well.*" Water was the first beverage of mankind, and was, as was undoubtedly natural, applied to other drinkables as they were invented. The great simplicity of ancient languages and times, not directly affording any other term than *beer*. So we apply the word *wine*, once, perhaps, peculiar to the juice of the grape, to liquids extracted from many other fruits, as gooseberries, elder-berries, &c. And here, though the copiousness of modern languages distinguishes these,

* See Gough's Camden, III. 426. 444.

which the poverty of the ancient did not, or not early, yet they retain the name of *wine* still. Hence *beer*, though originally a word for *water*, became expressive of some liquors drawn from vegetables, because they became, like water, a *beverage*, and *bir* is still used for water in some parts of Ireland.

In the very same manner the Celtic *Isca*, or *Uisga*, originally signifying *water*, was imposed on other liquids; there being at first no other, whereby readily to express them, they were called *Isca*, *water*; so *whisky*, a liquor used in Scotland, is nothing else but a corruption of the ancient *Isca*, *water*; yet it is not simply water. *Isca*, too, is found in Ireland, in the word *usque-bagh*, to which time has superadded the epithet *bagh*, i. e., *strong*, making *strong water*, by way of distinction from *common water*.

Beer yet continues in its primary acceptation of *a rivulet* from *a spring*, or *water* simply, in the recesses of this country but little frequented; and in Scotland for water itself. To these places colonies and conquests have carried but few innovations; for words annexed to things of such frequent use as *water*, *fire*, &c. heard mentioned every day for years, must necessarily have maintained their ground longer, and resisted the shocks of time better, than those but seldom used, and as seldom named. Hence, about Roxburgh, it is usual to ask "*have you any burn?*" i. e., *water*, simply, meaning "*in the house:*" where *burn* is the Hebrew *beer*, the final *n* only terminates the word after

the taste and genius of the German, and alters nothing.*

In Netherdale are two torrents, named *Bierbeck*, and *Doubergill*, descending from the moors. In the first of these, the latter syllable *beck*, is only put as explanatory, and as the sense of the prior syllable, *bier*, *water*, or *a rivulet*: it is the same in another torrent in Cumberland, near Longtown, called *Bierburn*, where *burn*, in like manner, explains *bier*. In *Doubergill*, the last syllable,† *gill*, an old Irish word for *water*, is only affixed to explain *ber*, the syllable immediately preceding it; and *dou*, in the Celtic, implies *black*, a colour proper to this torrent, and contracted from its passage through peat earth and morasses; the word *Dou-ber-gill*, then, in modern English, means *Black-water-gill*.

And even so low as our own times, this affixing a word, explaining the foregoing, continues; as *Hals-haugh-hill* at Ripon, *Mickle-haugh-hill* near that town, where *hill* a more modern word, is only explicatory of *haugh* or *how*, a more ancient one for the very same thing.

And to show that *ber*, *bier*, &c., is not confined to these retirements, no, nor to Britain, there is the *Ver*, a rivulet near *St Alban's*, of which the Romans formed their *Verulamium*: we have more streams possessed of

* See Ihre's *Glossary*, Tom. I. col. 189. v. *Bjorn*.

† It is the Hebrew גל *gel*, i. e., *unda*, from the rolling and rapidity of most torrents; it remains in the English also.—E. A.

this name also; as *Bierburn*, near Longtown, running into the Esk, There is the *Var*, too, in France, the *Iberus*, in Spain, and the *Tiber*, in Italy, all including this *ber* in their names. Where, by the way, *Ti*, in the Celtic, did, and does at this day, in St. Kilda, signify *great*, and *ber*, is *water*, or *a river:* the whole then will be, *the great river:* a name that sufficiently distinguishes it there, as it is by far the greatest river in that part of Italy. I cannot particularly recollect whether *ber* for *water*, is in the British, but I suspect it is; however the Britons used *aber*, for the *mouth of a river*, except it may be thought the Latin *aperio*.— But the Irish retain *ber* still, for water, as *Inbherslainge*, a river by Wexford: *Inbher-Domhnoin*, in Connacht, *i. e.*, the deep river, *domhnoin* importing *deep*. Neither is the Latin destitute of this *ber*, in the signification of water too, for of this seems formed the Roman *imber*; and it is also the Greek ὄμβρός i. e. ὑετὸς, which last is the modern English *wet*.

The old *Irish*, and our Yorkshire *gil*, a *torrent*, or *water*, is indeed the Hebrew *gel*, i. e., *unda*, from the tossing and rolling of the waves. And almost all torrents the ancient Irish called *gills*, as we do at this day, from the fury, and rapidity, and rolling of their waters. And in Holderness, the waters left by the tides, in the great hollows of the sands, are called the *guile*. And the *guile-vat* is so called hence, that is from the exagitation of the liquor in working, and from the efflores-

cence of yeast, like the spume of the sea; both deriving their name from the motion and rolling of their parts.

And from the Hebrew בּיר, *bir*, is our word *fairies*; fairies meaning *Nymphæ*, or *Naiades*, they being *fontal Nymphs*. The Irish call them not fairies, but, by a synonymous word, i. e., *gil-veis—Water-nymphs*.—And though we do not use *veis* here, yet they do in the more northern counties, and on the borders of Scotland. About Dumfries they call them *fay-folk*; and in a piece of Mr. Mawer's of Middleton-tyas,* he calls these Nymphs *fays*, which is the Irish *veis*. And Fairies is *ber-veis*, *b*, *v*, and *f* being often used for one another, and *v* being anciently pronounced as *u*.

AN APPLE-TREE, *i. e.* APOLLO'S TREE.

But, it may at first be thought, what reference this can have to Apollo: this is yet to appear. This name in the Danish is, I think, *æble-traee*. The Saxon Pentateuch, before referred to, if I remember right, has apel, *afel*, the Irish *abhal*, and the Welch a consonant word,

* The Rev. John Mawer, D.D., was Vicar of Middleton-Tyas, from 1731 till 1763; the inscription on his monument in the church at that place, states that he was master of twenty-two languages: of his history nothing is known, farther than that he was of Trinity College, Cambridge, A. B., 1724; and A. M., 1728;—and that he died in 1763, in reduced circumstances. A son of his, many years after the father's death, applied for, and obtained parochial relief; and a daughter was placed in St. Catharine's Hospital, through the interest of the Milbank family of Halnaby, in which situation she died.

whose orthography I forget; and the Dutch, German, &c. are either the same, or only varied by kindred letters. Other original of the name, though sought for, I have nowhere found; I should have suspected it to be a translation of the Latin *malum*, but that it seems to have been in the Celtic before the Celtæ were acquainted with Christianity, or the sacred writings, and when Apollo was better known than the consequences of the *mortal* apple; and they could never name it from *things* and *accidents* with which they were absolutely unacquainted. Besides, should it be thought the name has any way respect to *evil*, that may as rationally be referred to *Apollo*, as to *malum*. But be this as it may, the name is certainly very ancient, as ancient as heathenism, and the worship of Apollo, from whom it was, though not always, distinguished by this name. For it was once one of the symbols of that god, and dedicated to his deity; and hence by this name, with some inconsiderable variation in different countries, delivered down to our times. The name was probably introduced here with the worship of Apollo, and by early colonies, and continued its name, when the custom that gave it rise was forgotten. And that this is its original will be easily deducible from a little reflection on the proofs in support of it. The prizes in the sacred games of Apollo, were *the olive crown*, *apples*, *parsley*, and the *pine*. Lucian, in his book of *games*, affirms *apples* to have been *the reward* in the sacred games of Apollo. And Curtius on gardens, asserts the

same thing. It appears also that the apple-tree was consecrated to Apollo before the *laurel;* for both Pindar and Callimachus observe that Apollo put not on the *laurel,* till after his conquest of the Python; and he first appropriated it to himself on account of his passion for Daphne. The victor's wreathe, at first, was a bough with its apples hanging on it, sometimes along with it a branch of *laurel;* these antiquity united together in *the Pythian games.*

HAMILTON, (more properly HAMILDUN) HILL;

A name of very remote antiquity, and imposed upon several hills in this county, and it occurs too in several other places. I am not able to recollect precisely, if it remains in the Welch; but if it does not, it is probable that it has once existed in it. This name is derived, not from the *elevation* of these hills, but from *their figure* to the eye; which is, as far as I have had an opportunity to remark, or inform myself, that of *half a globe,* with its convexity upwards; which has a gradual descent, like them, from its summit every way.—Now, any hill or mountain of such a form, the Irish, to this time, called *himmel,* and, they imposed this name immediately from their resemblance to the appearance of the heavens, considered as to their convexity, And that they were considered thus is plain from Ovid's remark, " *Convexaque Cœli.*" And which from our zenith, seem to decline on every side, till terminated by

the horizon. The Latins called heaven *cœlum*, from κοῖλον, i. e. the *hollow*, considering it as a concave. But the Teutonic, in *himmel* and *hemel*, has looked upon them as a *covering*, and the Germans yet call a bed-*tester*, *himmel*, from its covering the *bed*, and they call the heavens *himmel*, from their covering the earth. And that antiquity looked upon them as a covering is also evident, from "Cœlum quod omnia *tegit*." Ovid. And the Æther is said *vestire* campos, by Virgil. This initial, *him* or *hem*, in *hemmel*, is the old Saxon *helm*,* only the liquid *l* is dropt, as with us in talk, walk, &c., first in pronunciation, as with us; afterwards in orthography, as with them. And this word *helm*, and all its relations, ever imply *covering;* hence *helmet* to cover the head, *home* to cover the family, &c., and in the *rura* of this county, they commonly call a little shed, wherein are put instruments of husbandry, a *helm*. So *peasehame*, and *house*, regard the very same thing, implying *covering;* and so does a *sheep-cote*, a *cottage*, and *coat*, our upper garment, which are from the British *coed*, a wood, the most ancient covering.

The final *el* in *himmel* is the radical of the Latin *altus*, just as the Celtic *ard*, high, is that of the Latin *arduus*. *Himmel* then, signifies *the lofty covering*. The syllable *don* or *dun*, *mons*, that concludes Hamil-

* If this Saxon HELM is not the Hebrew שׁל, SHELL, the skins of beasts, which were the ancient covering of mankind, I know not whence it is.—E. A.

dun, is so notorious, that it wants no illustration; hence the *Downs*, in Kent, and the hills called Banstead Downs, in Surrey; and hence *Lugdunum-Batavorum*, &c. But here one may observe, that Himmel was not a name applied to these hills, as to any *covering*, but only as they were thought to resemble the appearance of the sky, which is so.

The hills called Hamilton that I am acquainted with, are, that on which are the races near Gormire, that near Kirby-Malzeard; one near Tadcaster, and another towards Kendal.

EBORACUM.

If it is evident, as I conclude it is, that *Ber* or *Ver*, originally signifying *water* or *a well* was afterwards applied to the stream flowing from it, or *a river*, it seems to me to enter into the composition of *Eboracum*. *Bor* here really appears no more than the ancient *ber* or *bir*, so generally used among the Celtæ, it is from the Hebrew ברר, *berer*, *to cleanse*, because water is the natural universal purifier, and בור, *bir*, (Jeremiah vi. 7.) is understood as a *fountain*, and applied there very elegantly. If it be said that it is not *bir*, but Ouse, that is the name of the river at York, this is true; but if the river do not now bear this name, it may fairly be inferred that it has borne it formerly; and that, too, both from its Greek and Latin appellation. Besides, the name *Ouse* is only the Celtic *isca*, which still signifies *a river*, and, I believe, is pure and original Celtic.—

They are, then, two different names for the same thing; and *isca* has succeeded to *bir*. It is called here, *Ouse*. or *Isis*, and not *Yore*, as at Ripon, because of its confluence with the *Nid* and *Swale*; for *Isis* is no more than a reduplication of *Isca*, and contractedly pronounced *is is*, for *isea*, *isca*, which has been done in other rivers of Britain, and is a practice familiar enough to ancient languages; and that exility of sound in *e* or *i*, in *ber* or *bir*, a Roman ear, or some peculiarity of dialect, might easily change into *o*. For the Romans, I believe, seldom, if ever, absolutely altered the ancient names of people, cities, rivers, places, &c., but often stripped them of some barbarities, smoothed their asperities, and gave them a more harmonious pronunciation. The initial letter *E*, is a Celtic article, and appears among the Celtæ, even when situated at a great distance from one another, with no material variation; as the *Iberus* in Spain, *Isurium* with us, &c.

The Brigantes were also called *Wicci*, from their being collected in little villages, and hence *wic* is a very usual termination in many of them. *Ac*, in *Eboracum*, seems nothing but the Celtic *uic*, *vic*, *wic*, or *vig*; which is the radix of the Latin *vicus*, *viculus*, &c., and not differenced but by the termination *us*, which means nothing. It is very like the Greek *παγος* also: for the people of the north have sometimes pronounced *p* as *w*, which is a letter peculiar to the north. And formerly here, as among the Romans of

old, the articulation, as well as orthography of *u* and *v*, was as little distinguished as observed. For the Romans said and writ either *sylvæ or syluæ:* and yet, in Surrey, the populace never do, or indeed scarcely can pronounce *v*, but constantly substitute for it *u* or *w*, saying *uinegar* or *winegar*, for *vinegar;* pronouncing *v* as we do the Greek in υιος. The *wic* was so common among the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, that to multiply instances would be needless and tedious, and this was from very ancient usage; for in the *Feroes*, so far detached from the continent, and who had maintained little or no commerce with strangers, we find the names of many places concluding with *viig*, as Boardeviig, Joteviig, Qualviig, &c. The first appropriation of *vig* or *vic*, seems to have been to places upon the sea-shore, and banks of rivers, as in *Eboracum*, &c.; but in length of time, it became applicable to places near neither. Respecting the more primitive sense of the word *wic*, we have the village called the *wic*, upon the Thames; also *Dulwich* upon the same river, where *dul*, in the Celtic, signifies *low*, or *watery*, and is often met with, and is the root of the Latin *diluvium*. Perhaps *wic* never originally signified *a place of refuge*, as some affirm, but only accidentally. The *Teutonic* has an old and proper word for *refuge* or *security*, and that is *burgh*, the Welch *berrwe*, and the Greek πυργος.—Moreover, it may be observed, that *wic* was not at first imposed indifferently on any place upon the water, but on those seated upon or near some little inlet, creek, or

recess of waters:—and this was its first designation; hence, in all the northern counties, and in the neighbouring parts of Scotland, *the corners of the mouth* are now called *wics*, or *wiikes*. *Wic* has spread far and wide: it occurs in Germany, and is met with in the Iberian *Vigo* too: as for the small difference of *c* and *g*, it is only dialectic, and the Romans themselves used *c* and *g* either promiscuously or successively, as appears from the inscription upon the Duilian* pillar, where is read *pucnando*, for *pugnando*. The final *um* is nothing but a termination suiting the genius of the Latin. Upon the whole, then, agreeable to the conclusion of our ablest antiquaries, *Eboracum* implies no more than *a town seated upon a river*.

* *Caius Duilius*, the first Roman who obtained a considerable naval victory, was consul in the year 260 before Christ. After his colleague C. Corn. Scipio had been taken at sea by the Carthaginians in the first Punic War, he proceeded with a newly built Roman fleet, to Sicily in quest of the enemy, and, by means of a *Corvus* (a mechanical instrument described by Polybius, B. I. ch. 4.) he was enabled to grapple with the enemy's vessels as they approached, and thus to convert the combat into a sort of land fight. By this unexpected manœuvre, he took 80, and destroyed 13 ships of the Punic Fleet, and obtained, as a reward, a triumph. A naval column was erected in the Forum to perpetuate the event, which was standing in Pliny's time, and was found again with its inscription, in the year 1560. There is a curious dissertation respecting this column by *Ciacconius*, in the Collections of *Grævius*, tom. IV. pa. 1813, in which he gives this antiquated inscription, supplies the *lacunæ*, and renders it more intelligible by a modern interpretation of the words.—See Sir *Rich. Colt Hoare's Classical Tour through Italy*, Vol. II. pa. 28., 8vo. 1819.

THE

MEL-SUPPER;

AND

SHOUTING THE CHURN.

THESE rural entertainments and usages were formerly more general all over England, than they are at present, being become by time, necessity, or avarice, complex, confined, and altered. They are commonly insisted upon by the reapers as customary things, and as a part of their due for the cares and toils of harvest, and complied with by their masters, perhaps more through regard of interest, than of custom and inclination. For, should they refuse them the pleasures of this much expected time, this festal night, the youth especially, of both sexes, would decline serving them for the future, and employ their labours for others, who would promise them the rustic joys of the harvest-supper,—mirth, and music, dance and song.

These feasts appear to be the relics of pagan ceremonies, or of Judaism, it is hard to say whether, and they carry in them more meaning, and are of far higher antiquity than is generally apprehended. It is true, the subject is more curious than important, and, I believe,

altogether untouched; and as it seems to be little understood, has been as little adverted to. I do not remember it to have been so much as the amusement of a conversation. Let us make then a little excursion into this field, for the same reason that men sometimes take a walk.

Its traces are discoverable at a very great distance of time from ours, nay, they seem as old as a sense of joy for the benefit of plentiful harvests, and human gratitude to the Eternal Creator, for his munificence to men.

We hear it under various names in different counties, and often in the same county; as *mel-supper*, *churn-supper*, *harvest-supper*, *harvest-home*, *feast of ingathering*, &c. And perhaps, this feast had been long observed, and by different tribes of people, before it became preceptive with the Jews. However, let that be as it will, the custom very lucidly appears from the following passages of the Old Testament. Exod. xxiii. 16. וחג הקציר בכורי מעשיך אשר תזרע בשדה: i. e., "*And* "*the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours,* "*which thou hast sown in the field.*" And its institution as a sacred rite is commanded, Levit. xxiii. 39. באספכם את תבואת הארץ תחגו את חג יהוה: i. e., "*When* "*ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall* "*keep a feast to the Lord.*"

The Jews then, as is evident from hence, celebrated the feast of harvest, and that by precept; and though no vestiges of any such feast either are or can be produced before these, yet the *oblation of the pri-*

mitiæ, of which this feast was a consequence, is met with prior to this; for (Gen. iv. 3.) we find, that קין מפרי האדמה מנחה ליהוה: i. e., "*Cain brought of* "*the fruit of the ground, an offering to the Lord.*"

Yet this offering of the first fruits, it may well be supposed, was not peculiar to the Jews, either at the time of, or after its establishment by their legislator, neither the feast in consequence of it. Many other nations, either in imitation of the Jews, as some imagine, but perhaps much rather by a tradition from their several patriarchs, observing the rite of offering their *primitiæ*, and of solemnizing a festival after it, in religious acknowledgment for the blessing of harvest, though that acknowledgments was ignorantly misapplied, in being directed to a secondary, not the primary fountain of that benefit, namely, to *Apollo*, or *the sun*.

For Callimachus affirms, that these *primitiæ* were sent by the people of every nation to the temple of *Apollo*, in *Delos*, the most distant that enjoyed the happiness of corn and harvest, even by the hyperboreans in particular. Hymn to Apollo, οι μεντοι καλαμην τε και ιερα δραγματα πρωτοι—ασακνων, i. e., "*Bring the sacred sheafs*, "*and the mystic offering.*"

Herodotus also mentions this annual custom of the hyperboreans, remarking, that those of Delos talk of Ιρα ενδεδενα εν καλαμη πυρων εξ Υπερβορεων, i. e., "*Holy things* "*tied up in a sheaf of wheat, conveyed from the hy-*"*perboreans.*" And the Jews, by command of their law, offered also a sheaf, (Lev. xxiii. 10.) the original has,

וקצרתם את קצירה והבאתם את עמר ראשית קצירכם אלהכהן :
" *And shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall*
" *bring a sheaf, the first fruits of your harvest, unto*
" *the priest.*"

This is not introduced in proof of any feast observed by the people, who had harvests, but to show the universality of the custom of offering the *primitiæ*, which preceded this feast. But yet it may be looked upon as equivalent to a proof; for, as the offering and the feast appear to have been always and intimately connected, in countries affording records, so it is more than probable, they were connected too in countries who had none, or none that ever survived to our times. An entertainment, and gaiety, were still the concomitants of these rites, which, with the vulgar, one may pretty truly suppose, were esteemed the most acceptable and material part of them, and a great reason of their having subsisted through such a length of ages, when both the populace, and many of the learned too, have lost sight of the object to which they had been originally directed. This, among many other ceremonies of the heathen worship, became disused in some places, and retained in others, but still continued declining after the promulgation of the gospel. In short, there seems great reason to conclude, that this feast of harvest, which was once sacred to Apollo, was constantly maintained, when a far less valuable circumstance, i. e., *shouting the churn*, is observed to this day by the reapers, and from so old an æra; for we read of this acclamation, (Isa. xvi. 9.)

כי על קיצך ו על קצירך הידד נפל : i. e. ; "*For the shouting for thy summer fruits, and for thy harvest is fallen.*" And again, (v. 10,) הידד השכתי : ובכרמים לא ירנן לא יזעע : i. e. ; "*And in the vineyards there shall be no singing, their shouting shall be no shouting.*"

Hence then, or from some of the Phœnician colonies, is our traditionary *shouting the churn.* But it seems these orientals shouted both for joy of their harvest of *grapes* and of *corn.* We have no quantity of the first to occasion so much of joy, as does our plenty of the last; and I do not remember to have heard whether their vintages abroad are attended with this custom.

Bread, in loaves or in cakes, composed part of the Hebrew offering, Levit. xxiii. 13., and a cake thrown upon the head of the victim, was also part of the Greek offering to Apollo, (see Hom. Il., Bk. i., v. 585, Pope's translation,) whose worship, with that of Diana, was formerly celebrated in Britain, where the May-pole yet continues one remain of it. This they adorned with garlands and flowers on May-day, to welcome the approach of Apollo, or the sun, towards the north, and to signify that those flowers were the product of his presence and influence. But, upon the progress of christianity, as was before mentioned, Apollo lost his divinity again, and the adoration of his deity subsided by degrees. Yet so permanent is custom, that this *rite* of the *harvest supper*, together with that of the *May-pole*, (of which last see Voss,* de Orig. et Prog. Idol. L. 2.) have been

* Gerard John Vossius, an able and very learned writer, was born in

hitherto preserved in Britain; and what had been anciently offered to the god, the reapers as prudently devoted to the service of themselves.

At last the meal of new corn was neglected, and the supper, so far as meal was concerned, was made indifferently, either of old or new corn, as most agreeable to the founder.

And here, the usage itself accounts for the name of mel-supper, (where mel signifies meal, or else the instrument called with us a mell, wherewith the people of antiquity reduced their corn to meal, in a mortar, which still amounts to the same thing) for provisions of meal, or of corn in furmety, &c., composed by far the greatest part of these elder and rural entertainments, perfectly conformable to the great simplicity of ancient times, places, and persons, however meanly they may now be looked upon. And as the harvest was last concluded with several preparations of meal, or brought to be ready for the mell, this term became, in a translated signification, to mean the last of other things; as when a horse comes last in a race, they often say in the north, he has got the mell.

All the other names of this country festivity suffi-

Germany, in 1577, and died at Amsterdam in 1649, being then Professor of History in the University of that city. He was the author of a great number of works, which are still considered of high authority and accuracy. His Treatise "*De origine ac progressu Idololatriæ*," here referred to, was published at Amsterdam in 1641, in 3 vols. 4to., and again at the same place, much enlarged, in 1668, in 2 vols. Folio.

ciently explain themselves, except churn-supper, and this is entirely different from mel-supper; but they generally happen so near together, that they are frequently confounded. The churn-supper was always provided when all was shorn, but the mel-supper after all was got in. And it was called the churn-supper, because, from time immemorial, it was customary to produce, in a churn, a great quantity of cream, and to circulate it by dishfuls, to each of the rustic company, to be eaten with bread. And here sometimes very extraordinary execution has been done upon cream.

And, though this custom has been disused in many places, and agreeably commuted for by ale, yet it survives still, and that about Whitby and Scarborough, in the east, and in the vicinage of Gisburn, &c. in Craven, in the west. But, perhaps, a century or two more will put an end to it, and both the thing and name shall die. Vicarious ale is now more agreeable, and more approved, and the tankard almost every where politely preferred to the churn.

This churn (in our provincial pronunciation kern) is the Hebrew *kern*, or *kerin*, from its being circular, like most horns; and it is the Latin *corona*, named so either from its radii, resembling horns, as on some very ancient coins, or from its encircling the head; so a ring of people is called *corona*. It is also the Celtic *koren*, *keren*, or *korn*, which continues according to its old pronunciation in Cornwall,* and our

* See the words Corn, Korn, and Kern, in the Cornish and English

modern word horn is no more than this; the ancient hard sound of *k* in *korn*, as in the Celtic, *kolen*, *holly*, being softened into the aspirate *h*, as has been done in numberless instances. The Irish Celtæ also call a round stone, clough-*crene*, where the variation is merely dialectic. Hence our *crane* berries, i. e., *round* berries, from the Celtic adjective *crene*, round.

Vocabulary, at the end of Borlase's *History and Antiquities of Cornwall*, Fol. Oxford, 1754: and the word *Kerne*, in Ihre's *Glossarium Suiogothicum*, Fol. Upsal, 1769.

AN

ELEGY,

ON THE

DEATH OF SIR JOHN ARMYTAGE,* BART.;

OF KIRKLEES,

M. P. FOR THE CITY OF YORK,

Who died gloriously, in the Service of his Country,

On the 11th September, 1758, near St. Cass, on the Coast of France, in the twenty-seventh year of his age:

HUMBLY INSCRIBED

TO THE REMAINS OF THAT ANCIENT AND RESPECTABLE FAMILY.

STRIKE, strike the bosom, touch the vocal string,
Bring funeral euge, the funeral cypress bring:
The strain be mournful; let the feet move slow:
The numbers ling'ring with their weight of woe.
Not with more grief great Maro's breast did swell,
When glorious, with his legions, Varus fell;
Not Troy felt more resentment, more of pain,
When Troy beheld her matchless Hector slain,
Than feels thy country. Tell us, was thy fate
Or more illustrious, or unfortunate?
Thy arms almost alone the foes impeach;
Thou stoodst, like Scæva, in the dangerous breach.
Slain, but not vanquish'd; fallen, but not fled;
That ground thou kept alive, thou kept when dead.

* See Gent. Mag. 1758, pp. 444 & 539, and the Ann. Register, p. 69.

Hast thou obtain'd thy laurels with the pall?
Didst thou more bravely dare, or greatly fall?
Calder with sadder murmurs rolls her floods,
And deeper gloom invests thy Kirklees' woods.
France too, deplores thee little less than we,
And Britain's genius gave a sigh for thee.
What though no wife's, though no fond mother's eyes
Grow dim with grief, whose transports pierce the skies:
What, though no pomp, no pious dirge, no friend
Wail thee with tears, no solemn priest attend:
O! yet be happy—thy sad sisters here
Bewail thy loss with sorrows too sincere;
And falls in silence the fraternal tear.*
Sleep, much lamented, while thy country pays,
Mingled with sighs, the tribute of her praise.
Suppress those sighs, and wipe the humid eye,
Her sons nor fall in vain, nor unreveng'd shall die.
When her loud thunders reach the hostile shore,
Swift as the winds, and like the billows roar;
What vigils must repentant Gallia keep?
What hostile eyes must close, what fair ones weep?
Remorseless war! how fatal to the brave!
Wild as rough seas, voracious as the grave!
Blind, when thou strikes; deaf, when distress complains;
What tears can whiten thy empurpl'd stains?
Waste waits thy step, as southern breezes show'rs;
Like floods thou rages, and like floods devours.
Fear flies before thee—thou relentless hears
The virgin's pray'r, and sees the mother's tears.
Sink down, be chain'd, thrice execrable war,
Extinct thy torch, or flame from Britain far.
Breathe we where bliss in flow'ry vales is found;
Soft spring, glow near me; rural sweets be round;

* Sir John left a brother, George, who succeeded him in his titles and estates, and three sisters.

Perennial waters, which the rock distils,
The shaded villa, and the sunny hills,
Long wand'ring shores, the voice of falling floods,
The gale of odours, and the night of woods.
These, lost to thee, for thee accept of fame,
Thy Kirklees smiles—she yet can boast the name:
Rank'd with the great thy fragrant name shall be;
Rome had her Decius,—the BRIGANTES Thee.

TO

WILLIAM THORNTON, ESQ.,*

OF THORNVILLE, AND CATTAL-MAGNA NEAR WETHERBY.

IN arts and arms, O thou so lately tried,
Scourge of the rebels, and thy country's pride!
Where birth with honour—truth with greatness joins,
Valour, with prudence well attempered, shines;
Whose open aspect all the patriot shews,
Whose generous heart with love of freedom glows;
Whose principles—on choice—not chance—depend,
Alike thy country's and thy Sovereign's friend,
Not dupe to party—nor to power a slave—
Good, without shew—and without boasting brave.
Thou—all whose soul true Roman ardours fire,
Their sages influence, and their chiefs inspire,

* Mr. Thornton raised and maintained a troop of horse for the defence of his country, entirely at his own expense, during the insurrection

Say, for a moment, wilt thou deign to hear
The honest sallies of a muse sincere?—
A muse that scorns to flatter or defame,
Proud vice to praise—or modest merit shame.
With grief she heard the youth's lamented fate,
Who nobly perish'd to support the state,
And heired thy virtues—as he heired thy seat.
Ah, gallant youth! even foes shall drop the tear
And melt to pity at thy passing bier.
Though short thy date, yet Armytage shall rest
Entombed for ever in Britannia's breast.
At length, those sorrows, and those honours paid,
Due to thy memory—illustrious shade!
New rising joys, even now, begin to chase,
Those sullen clouds that saddened every face,
A tide of transport o'er my bosom spread,
When York appointed Thornton to succeed.
See—see the sense a grateful people shew!
Accept the trust thy citizens bestow!
That trust, to which caprice ne'er called thee forth,
But thy own merit, and intrinsic worth.

of the Scottish clans in 1745, in which troop the celebrated Blind Jack of Knaresbrough was a trumpeter; an amusing account of the expedition may be seen in the Life of that extraordinary individual.

Mr. Thornton was also M. P. for the city of York from 1747 till 1754, when he was succeeded by Sir John Armytage already mentioned, and on the death of that gentleman in 1758, he was again elected for the same city, and continued to represent it till the dissolution of Parliament in 1761, when he was succeeded by Sir George Armytage, Bart., brother of Sir John.

When in parliament, Mr. Thornton, distinguished himself as an able debater on many important occasions. Several of his speeches may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1752, and 1753.

When bold rebellion, with its cursed band
Leagued to dethrone our King—to enslave the land—
Unterrified amid the dire alarms
Thou snatched up arms—and cried—*to arms! to arms!*
The neighbouring youths straight caught the glorious heat,
High in their country's cause their pulses beat—
Then, marching at their head—thou ledst them forth,
To the bleak regions of the faithless north.
Firm in the senate, and unbribed, thou stood,
Postponing private to the public good,
There moved a Bill—now passed into a Law,
To arm the realm,* and future rebels awe.
When that weak wicked motion once was made,
To count the people,† and their rights invade,
With indignation thou opposed the scheme
And even its frontless authors dashed with shame:
But better counsels now the vessel guide
For at the helm, behold a Pitt preside!
Congenial souls—go, mingle flame with flame
Your own still founding on the nation's fame:—
Cato and *Tully* in a *Pitt* we see,
And *Rome's* loved *Brutus* lives again in thee.

York, Oct. 17th, 1758.

* See Gent. Mag. 1752, pp. 391, 392, 393. 439, 440, 441.

† See Gent. Mag. 1753, pp. 500, 501, 502. 549, 550, 551, 552. 598, 599.

The editor is not ignorant that these Lines have been published before, viz. in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1758, with the signature John Atkinson;—he has been informed however, on authority which he cannot doubt, that they were written by Eugene Aram, who probably had his reasons for suppressing his own name: Mr. Thornton, it may be recollected, was the Magistrate who committed him to York Castle.

Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere Cavernæ.—VIRG.

For these dread walls, sad sorrow's dark domain;
For cells resounding with the voice of pain,
Where fear, pale power, his dreary mansion keeps,
And grief, unpity'd, hangs her head and weeps;
What muse would leave her springs, and myrtle shades,
The groves of Pindus, and the Aonian glades?
The hallow'd pines that nod on Ida's brow,
And suns that spread eternal May below?
Or comes the nymph, she soon averts her eyes,
And, but bestows one transient look, and flies,
In vain would I ascend—too weak my wings,
In vain the plectrum strikes the sleeping strings,
They wake no more;—The fire that blaz'd but glows;
The mute—the lyre—and all are mute—but foes.
While my small bark, by sable tempests tost,
Lies wreck'd on an inhospitable coast;
Bleak rocks the place, and clouds the skies infold,
Storms follow storms, and seas on seas are roll'd:
Yet, if the fates be kind, and you this lay,
Daughters of Isis,* with a smile survey;—
If, while you gild the moments as they rise,
Suppliant, I make your soft regards my prize;
Farewell, Pyrene! once so lov'd:—and you
Pierian sisters, tuneful maids, adieu!
For ever, I your feeble aid decline;
Come, lucid stars, fair northern lights, be mine:
Whose graces lull life's cares, whose wit removes;
Whose virtues charm me, and whose sense improves;
From you spring each sweet hope, each gleam of joy,
Each dearer name, and every social tie.

* The Ouse, that runs through York.

You my bright subject, all to transport turns,
My breast with more than mortal ardour burns.
Rapt into years to come, the muse's eyes
Behold your future sons illustrious rise!
Patriots and chiefs, renown'd for war and laws,
Warm in their country's and in virtue's cause.
When time another crop of foes shall bear,
Another Thornton shall in arms appear;
Another Cumberland shall rise, and save;
His soul as honest, and his heart as brave.
Some Slingsby* curb again rebellious rage;
Some Ingilby† again his prince's ear engage.
Mahon‡ once more shall British troops receive,
What Stanhope won, a Stanhope shall retrieve.
Some harp for Copgrove's hapless youth§ be strung,
And Albion's rocks repeat what Deering‖ sung.
Some future bard, in Roundhills shall commend,
The breast humane, the scholar, and the friend.

* A gentleman of this family, in arms for the king, fell at Marston Moor.

† See Chauncy's Hertfordshire, in St. Alban's, where lies a worthy Baronet of this family.

‡ See Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. art. Stanhope, and the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1756, pp. 319. 347. 485. 546.

§ (Mr. Hodges, son of Henry Hodges, Esq., of Copgrove,) a young gentleman of great abilities, of great hopes, and once my friend, who died in the expedition to Carthagena, under Admiral Vernon, in 1741.—(See the Gentleman's Magazine for that year, pp. 264. 266.)

‖ Dr. Heneage Deering, Dean of Ripon, attempted a History of the City of York in Latin Verse, but lived to carry it hardly through the Roman times, in "*Reliquiæ Eboracenses*, per H. D. Ripensem. Eborac. "1743." 4to. Dr. Deering died in 1750.

Lambhill* shall bid its fadeless laurels grow,
To shade some Norton's,† Garth's, or Plaxton's‡ brow.
The sacred page some Walton§ shall review,
Some Wanley‖ clear the runic line anew.
The trumpet's sound shall die, and discord cease,
Thou, Britain! flourish, in the arts of peace;
Fairest of ocean's daughters, and his pride,
Safe in thy oaks, with Neptune on thy side;
Who, fond to bless thee, with his Thames has crown'd,
And, pleas'd to guard thee, pours his seas around;
The wounds of war thy commerce soon shall cure,
That peace thy fleets command, thy Pitt¶ assure.
Come, gentle peace! propitious goddess, come,
Thy olive bring.—Let all, but mirth, be dumb.
What blessings reach us which thou dost not give?
Thou fled, is it to suffer or to live?

* (Near Masham, formerly) a seat of the old and worthy family of the Beckwiths, (now the property of J. H. D'Arcy Hutton, Esq., of Aldburgh.)

† Fletcher Norton, Esq., afterwards Lord Grantley, is probably the person here meant.—At the time these lines were written, he was rapidly advancing to eminence at the Bar.

‡ The Rev. G. Plaxton, M. A., Rector of Barwick in Elmet, well known as a Scholar and an Antiquary, appears to be the person meant in this place.

§ Dr. Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, editor of a Polyglot Bible, in 6 vols. Folio, London, 1658;—died in 1661.

‖ Humphrey Wanley, a celebrated Literary Antiquary, famous for his knowledge of the Northern Languages, and of ancient Alphabets, was Librarian to Harley, Earl of Oxford;—he died in 1726.

¶ The Right Hon. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, at the time these lines were written, was one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State;—He was, in fact, prime minister, and directed all the movements of the British Fleets and Armies with singular energy and success.

Thy sweet recess, thy happy ports to gain,
Plough'd is the verdant, plough'd the wat'ry plain.
For thee, this swelters under Lybia's suns;
That sails and shivers where the Volga runs.
To thy soft arms through death itself we flee,
Battles and camps, and fields, and victory,
Are but the rugged steps that lead to thee.
For thee kind showers distil, the meads to cheer,
Or bend in old Isurium's* field the ear;
For thee the streams make gay the banks they lave;
The soft breeze whispers, and the green woods wave.
All these I see, as sailors see the shore,
And sing, secluded, scenes I tread no more.
Nor stars, nor cheerful suns, I now behold,
Languid with want, and pale with polar cold.
Where smiles Elysium?—where those happier skies,
Where after death superior virtue flies?—
Where wrongs, nor night, nor torments, they deplore,
The sigh forgotten, and the tear no more.
What passage to the blissful meadows guides?—
What horrors guard it? or what covert hides?
Thus to the Getæ,† in a barbarous throng,

* Aldborough, near Boroughbridge.—See Gough's Camden, III. p. 299, and Hargrove's *Hist. of Knaresbrough*, pp. 309—328.

† The *Getæ*, or *Getes*, were a tribe of Scythians who inhabited that part of Thrace which is near the Ister, or Danube.—Strabo says they had the same language as the Thracians, and he represents them as occupying those arid and uncultivated plains which lie along the sea coast between the Mouths of the Ister, and that of the Tyras, in which the army of Darius, in its march against the Scythians, was in danger of perishing for want of water. Under the empire of Trajan, the Getæ were subjected to the Roman dominion:—They possessed only a small space along the coast, but their territory extended to a considerable distance in the interior of the country. Those who inhabited the western part, in ascending the Danube, were called *Dacians*; but those who were more

The last sad numbers flow'd from Naso's tongue.
The Thracian* thus, whose harp bewail'd his wife,†
Torn by the mad Bacchantes, lost his life:
The strains that hell had pleas'd, they disregard;
And snatch'd the life, that softer Pluto spar'd.

appropriately called *Getæ*, occupied the eastern parts, near the Euxine Sea. The town of *Tomi* (now Tomisvar) on the borders of the Euxine, and in the country of these people, was the place to which the celebrated Roman Poet, *Publius Ovidius Naso*, was banished, in the reign of the Emperor Augustus, and where he died, after an exile of several years, in the reign of Tiberius.—See Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*, Introd. pa. 7.

* Orpheus. † Eurydice.

FINIS.

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